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ABSTRACT

The Pacific Northwest Conference on Higher Education has provided a forum for debating the foremost issues facing higher education in Canada and the United States throughout the period of reassessment and charting of new or different directions. The keynote address to the conference examines the common assumption that higher education has a built-in capacity for self-reform and assesses the outcry for universities and colleges to play a direct role in the solution of society's social problems. A panel of reactors analyzes critically the perspectives presented in the keynote address from the viewpoint of students, administration, faculty, and state departments of education. (Author/MJH)

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SURVIVAL and CHALLENGE

Proceedings of the Thirty-Fourth Annual

Pacific Northwest Conference on Higher Education

University of Lethbridge

Lethbridge, Alberta, Canada

June 14-16, 1972

Edited by Russell J. Leskiw

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FOREWORD

The task of charting the future course for higher education is made complex by many factors. Social tensions, international issues, financial crises, decreasing enrollments, institutional differences, serious convulsions within institutions—these are some of the conditions which have brought about intensive examination of higher education's functions as well as of the operation of its institutions. The examination was not always rational and orderly: the upheaval and discontent led to serious reservations a few years ago about the survival of higher education's institutions, certainly in their existing form. The planners of the 1972 conference have taken the view that fears about the early demise of institutions of higher education were premature as were hopes for their early and radical transformation. Universities and colleges in their institutional form have survived the onslaught of their many critics, hence the significance of the initial part of the theme, "Survival."

The Pacific Northwest Conference on Higher Education has provided a forum for debating the foremost issues facing higher education in Canada and the United States throughout the period of re-assessment and charting of new or different directions. One need but refer to the themes of the previous five conferences to recognize these attempts (see inside cover). This conference addresses itself to the kinds of issues which must be faced if the continuing challenge to fulfill its mission is met successfully. For institutions, and more specifically universities but community colleges as well, remain a conspicuous target to those of their critics who on the one hand would make them agencies of social reform and hence socially accountable and on the other hand would regard them jealously as the last protected outposts receiving extensive public financial support without any expectation of financial accountability.

In the keynote address to the conference, Harold Hodgkinson examines the common assumption that higher education has a built-in capacity for self-reform and he goes on to assess the outcry for universities and colleges to play a direct role in the solution of society's social problems. A panel of reactors analyzes critically his perspectives from the viewpoint of students, administration, faculty, and state (provincial) departments of education. Dr. Frank Abbott directs his comments to the growing need for coordinated effort among institutions of higher education and reviews the means by which this coordination is being realized and the extent of central control which is involved. Dr. Max Wyman brings the conference around again to view the internal dynamics of the university and poses the question of whether or not it is the institution that has lost faith in itself.

A symposium, chaired by Dr. Alan Campbell, attempts to bring together the contributions made by Dr. Hodgkinson, Dr. Abbott, and Dr. Wyman.

The national perspective from the federal government's point of view is presented by Hon. Patrick Mahoney, Minister of State (Finance). It is extended by Dr. Neil Perry, who pinpoints the recent national trends in higher education in Canada and extends projection of some of the trends into the future.

R. J. LESKIW, *Conference Chairman*

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TRAINED INCAPACITY: THE UNIVERSITY AND SOCIETY

HAROLD L. HODGKINSON

Dr. Hodgkinson is a researcher for the Center for Research and Development in Higher Education, University of California, Berkeley; editor of the Journal of Higher Education; editor of the Jossey-Bass Series on Higher Education; and incoming president of the American Association of Higher Education.

IN LOOKING at the societal context in which higher education is not taking place, I would like to stress two aspects: first is the fact that faith in American social institutions is declining rather rapidly. It is not just higher education that has lost public confidence; rather it is virtually *all* large-scale bureaucracies.

The following figures from a Harris Poll, "Percentage of Americans who express faith in U.S. social and political institutions, 1967 and 1972," as reported in the March 1972 issue of *Social Education*, bear out this observation.

	1967 Percent	1972 Percent
1. Faith in leadership of major business corporations	55	27
2. Faith in banks and other financial institutions	67	37
3. Faith in the military	62	27
4. Faith in Congress	41	19
5. Faith in the chief executive	41	23
6. Faith in the scientific community	56	32
7. Faith in medical doctors	73	61

The second point I wish to make is that in some vague way, many people are becoming aware that the major triumphs of social organizations of our time have produced our major social problems. Willis Harman has compared the triumphs with the problems in this way:

<i>"Successes" of the technological area</i>	<i>Resulting problems of being "too successful"</i>
Prolonging the life span	Overpopulation; problems of the aged
Weapons for national defense	Hazards of mass destruction through nuclear and biological weapons
Machine replacement of manual and routine labor	Exacerbated unemployment
Advances in communication and transportation	Urbanization; "shrinking world"; vulnerability of a complex society to breakdown (natural or deliberate)
Efficiency	Dehumanization of the world of work
Growth in the power of systematized knowledge	Threats to privacy and freedoms (e.g., surveillance technology, "bio-engineering"); "knowledge barrier" to underclass
Affluence	Increased per capita environmental impact, pollution, energy shortage
Satisfaction of basic needs; ascendance up the "need-level hierarchy"	Worldwide revolutions of "rising expectations"; rebellion against "non-meaningful work"; unrest among affluent students
Expanded power of human choice	Management breakdown as regards control of consequences of technological applications
Expanded wealth of developed nations	Intrinsically increasing gap between have and have-not nations
Development of prepotent high-technology capability	Apparent economic necessity of continuous war to use up the output of the "megamachine"

We seem to create two problems for every one we solve, and there is no apparent way of "solving" a problem *without* creating several more. This realization calls into question the

whole notion of PROGRESS, which has guided the United States since its inception.

Banfield's book, *The Unheavenly City*, currently the object of professorial scorn, presents and documents the thesis that as we do more for the cities, they get worse. UNESCO reports that the major consequence of our efforts to assist underdeveloped nations has been the creation of greater income inequities in those countries than ever before. We have created a class of technologists and entrepreneurs in these countries who move into well-paid positions, while the vast majority of the population remains in subsistence farming with no increase in economic wealth. Robert MacNamara, president of the World Bank, has recently labeled this situation a severe crisis in the internal strain put on the governments of underdeveloped nations in trying to deal with these inequities. Many young college graduates now seem to belong to this futilitarian school—they have little interest in the world of work, because they *do not believe that we can solve problems through large-scale organizations*.

As an introduction to this rather gloomy topic, let me present a metaphor which is also a paradox. The metaphor is that of the tower—for example, the tower in which Montaigne spent a good part of his life, and from which he made observations about the nature of society. If you look out from a tower, two things occur simultaneously. Your vision at the horizon is increased, and you can see much further than before. If you look straight down from the tower, however, you will find that small things easily seen from the ground become invisible. The tower increases our seeing at the horizons but blurs our vision of the common, small, everyday things that are all that most men live by, and with. It would appear that there is no way out of this paradox—if we opt for the tall, we give up the small. I hope that some possible routes around this paradox can be suggested in this paper.

In addition to having towers, campuses also have high, thick walls (except for Empire State College in New York,

whose "campus" is the entire state). Most campuses are not in big cities but are in isolated rural areas, presumably to get away from the contaminating influences of urban life and to allow both teacher and student to think and discourse in an atmosphere of Rousseauesque purity. This strategy was, in my opinion, a fundamental misconception based on a Wordsworthian romanticism that never did anybody any good. As Lewis Mumford and others have pointed out, the city is our history, our arts, our commerce, our social institutions. The very word *urbanity* suggests it. Please note that Socrates did not hike his students twenty miles out of Athens before beginning dialogue. Indeed, the city *was* the dialogue, and the city finally ended the career of the greatest pedagogue because it was not capable of withstanding the kind of self-inspection he demanded. Socrates, the intellectual, did not want to destroy the city; he wanted to assist it in becoming more honest, more open, more consistent in practice with idealism. But the city took his life, thus producing the first victim of the doctrine of publish or perish.

Cities tend to be run by politicians, men who seldom get up into towers but who have an almost instinctive sense for the sociosphere—that very thin social tapestry that keeps men going. You can get this sense only by grubbing around with people; you do not get it from gazing at the horizon from a tower. Politicians have always had a healthy distrust for tower types who tend to see devious motives in politicians. (It would, however, be nice if intellectuals could return to the state of Cassius with his lean and hungry look. Then full professors could stop jogging around the football field to take off the excess fat, and perhaps conversations at the faculty club could include something besides mutual funds and tax-exempt municipal bonds.)

The fact seems to be that intellectuals have never been very good at solving the real problems of real people. Most universities seem to be totally oblivious of the immediate environment in which they reside, or they assume an all-per-

vative superiority in any dealings they must have with the citizenry. Thus the legal counsel for Columbia could state that it was Columbia's "manifest destiny" to take over Harlem, without ever consulting the people who lived there. The University of Chicago has in many ways contributed to the teeming slum which surrounds it. And the University of California at Berkeley has a magnificent spread of recreational parks and facilities, all for restricted use, while the City of Berkeley has almost none. (That was one of the agenda items in the People's Park fracas. The people lost, and the park is today an unused stretch of asphalt with a fence around it. I liked it better when it was a park.)

Universities *are* social problems, at least in several respects. For example, is university sewage better treated than industrial sewage and that from office buildings? Are university smokestacks equipped with superior filtration systems? The answer is not certain, as I know of no national figures available. I do know of three colleges that simply run their sewage, untreated, into adjacent rivers and streams. All three have "environmental awareness" programs, through which the students are sent into nearby cities to study pollution problems.

This leads us to a very interesting contemporary development which should be called Reconstructionism II. There are many people in colleges and universities today who believe that the role of higher education should be that of reconstructing the larger society. (The reason that this is Reconstructionism II is that about 40 years ago, the Progressive Education Association assumed that the public elementary and secondary schools of America should transform the social and economic fabric of American life. Indeed, one of their major spokesmen, George Counts, wrote a book entitled *Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?* In summing up the movement, Larry Cremin observed that it could not be called a failure; rather, like Christianity, it had never been tried.) Direct confrontations between educational systems

and political organizations almost always end with the educational system losing. People do not seem to want an educational system *directly* to transform their social institutions.

Bussing is such a issue, in that the bussing of suburban children into the central city is to violate the segregated patterns of housing that make the suburbs possible in the first place; the money that fuels suburbia is made in the city. In perhaps the most far-reaching educational decision since *Plessey v. Ferguson*, California courts have held that the personal property tax is inherently unequal in that it favors more affluent areas. But the schools will be unable to alter the de facto pattern of housing segregation by income levels (and, in many areas, income segregation still means racial segregation).

In addition to asking about higher education's role in changing society, we might also ask some questions about how well higher educational institutions govern themselves. The answer has to be: rather poorly. After reading and summarizing for the federal government the approximately 400 books and articles comprising the literature on campus governance, I could think of only one title: "The Amazing Thing Is That It Works At All." After one has studied the operations of faculty senates for a while, one begins to see the reasons for my use of the expression "trained incapacity" in the title of this paper. It is the professional training of the faculty that makes them ineffective in governing themselves. If you put 300 people in a room, each of whom is highly trained in spotting ambiguities and dichotomies where no one else sees them, and ask that group to agree on a course of action, you will be a long time awaiting.

The definition of the executive as one who executes and implements is difficult to carry through in higher education; the faculty do not see administrators as their *superiors* in the organizational structure. One of the bitter learning experiences of student radicals in the last decade is that they thought that administrators really had power and could make

things happen; that is why they concentrated their attacks on administrators. Now, many of them have learned that power resides at the "ward" level (the academic departments) and at the state level, particularly in state coordinating commissions for higher education, legislative budget analysts, and in the governor's office. As a consequence, student lobbies are now active in several state capitals, and a national student lobby has been established in Washington.

In both public and private institutions, students now have more access to governing boards than do faculty members. Patterns of influence in policy-making are becoming more dispersed, as far as *internal* groups go. It is somewhat ironical that students are gaining access to the centers of campus power at the very moment that the most vital decisions seem to be moving toward the state capitals, and toward Washington.

The fact is that our society has a great many educational needs which higher education is not meeting. As a result, many alternative forms of post-secondary education are now leaping into the fray in order to deal with those concerns which higher education cannot, or will not, meet. (See Table 1.)

We have always believed that the only educational activities that matter occur in the educational core—elementary and secondary schools, colleges, and universities. As a matter of fact, the fastest-growing area is not in the core at all, but in the educational *periphery*, in proprietary schools, correspondence schools (as in Britain's Open University), and particularly in occupational and industrial education, including such giants as IBM, Xerox, and Eastman Kodak, many of whom now offer "degrees" for their employees who finish certain kinds of training programs.

Many of the people in these peripheral areas are over 21, the age at which higher education has traditionally drawn its boundaries. But there are millions of them, and their educational needs seem genuine enough. Thus far, we in "core"

Table 1. THE LEARNING FORCE (1940-1976) (in millions of persons)

	1940	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	Current estimates 1976
<i>The educational core</i>							
Pre-primary	.7	1.3	2.0	2.7	3.1	4.4	5.5
Elementary	20.5	21.0	26.0	29.1	32.0	32.3	30.0
Secondary	7.1	6.5	9.3	13.0	16.8	19.8	22.1
Undergraduate	1.4	2.4	2.4	3.2	4.9	6.5	8.3
Graduate	.1	.2	.2	.4	.6	.8	1.1
SUBTOTAL	29.8	31.4	39.9	48.4	57.4	63.8	67.0
<i>The educational periphery</i>							
Organizational	8.2	10.2	10.9	13.0	14.5	21.7	27.4
Proprietary	2.5	3.5	3.5	4.0	7.8	9.6	18.1
Anti-poverty					2.8	5.1	7.0
Correspondence	2.7	3.4	3.5	4.5	5.0	5.7	6.7
Television				.01	5.0	7.5	10.0
Other adult	3.9	4.8	5.1	6.8	9.1	10.7	13.2
SUBTOTAL	17.3	31.4	23.0	28.3	44.2	60.3	82.4
<i>The Learning Force</i> (total of core and periphery)							
	47.1	53.3	52.9	76.7	101.6	124.1	149.4

higher education have steadfastly ignored both the people and the institutions of the periphery, on the grounds that only we can offer a quality educational program. We spend millions of dollars to build a new community college to meet some new community needs, when just across the street there may well be a proprietary institution or two that could do an excellent job. But most proprietary schools are not even able to compete for accreditation. (In fact, because the USOE statistics in higher education are on accredited institutions almost exclusively, no one knows for sure just how many proprietary schools there are.) Yet we continue building a new community college at the rate of about one every ten days in the United States, never considering the possibility of legitimizing some of the peripheral institutions like proprietary schools. Illitch is right in pointing out that many other

institutions may have educating functions in society besides formal educational structures.

Perhaps it is time that we take a hard look at the system of accreditation whereby institutions of higher education stamp certain people as competent to do the work of the society. For example, what if we were to ask the question: What can *every* holder of a B.A. degree from an American college or university do that lesser educated sectors of the population cannot? The answer is—nothing. Indeed, entering freshmen at some institutions know more than graduating seniors from others. The degree does *not* provide a uniform standard or yardstick for the measurement of human performance, yet the public often seems to assume that it is our major mission.

The subunits out of which degrees are made are grades, the building blocks of creditation. They predict success at the next educational level rather well (high school grades predict college success, college grades will predict graduate school, etc.). However, when a person leaves higher education and takes up his tasks in the larger society, grades tell us absolutely nothing about his performance. The best students in medical school do not become the best surgeons; the best students in law school do not become the best lawyers. Grades do not predict a person's concern for his community, his income level, his philanthropic activities, his concern for his family. Our major system of evaluating performance seems to be nonfunctional in terms of what society wants. It may be that the public is becoming aware of this.

The reasons why people have coveted our degrees have to do with money—a college degree means a higher income level. However, even this is changing (See Chart A.). Within this age range, income levels for college graduates and non-college people are indistinguishable in 60 percent of the cases. This is in sharp distinction to data from four decades ago, when there was virtually no overlap between the two groups. In addition, data on lifetime earnings show a con-

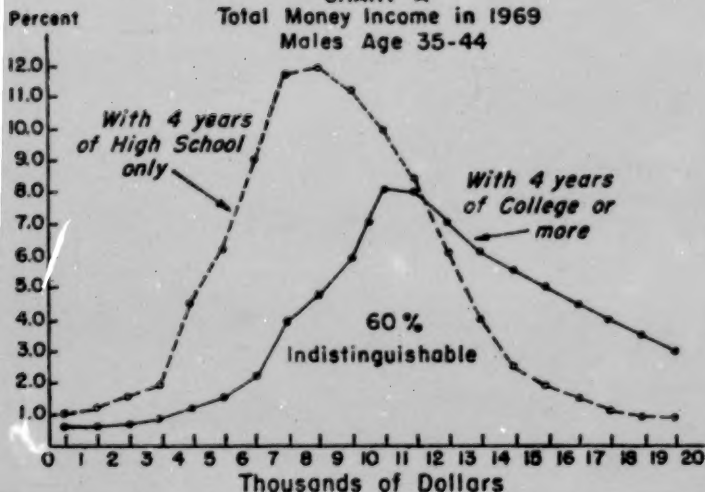
tinual narrowing of the gap in lifetime earnings between college graduates and those of lesser educational attainments.

College graduates still make more, but the gap is closing fast. This is due primarily to unionization, which has given the blue collar worker enormous leverage and economic gain. Blue collar suburbs, unheard of right after World War II, are commonplace today. Even a professional group like aerospace physicists cannot survive a recession as well as unionized groups like plumbers can. And when you need a plumber, you really *need* him; nobody ever needed a professor the way he needs a plumber. Unions simply convert that dependency into cold, hard cash. Interestingly enough, some faculty members now see unionization as a desirable thing, not for economic gain but because the union offers more protection from political forces than the AAUP can manage.

Income levels are no longer tied to a college degree, at least not in the way they used to be. And even if they were, a sizable segment of the brightest of our youth are no longer interested in making money, at least not as an end in life. The *Bluing of America* thesis suggests that while the indolent children of upper middle class families are running around the world setting up communes and digging Vedanta and Zen, the earnest kids of blue collar families are quietly preparing to take over the managerial jobs that will run society. I find it an interesting thesis.

In summarizing these developments, it could be said that the system of higher education in America has moved from a concern with training the sons and daughters of the elite to a concern for educating the people of merit, regardless of their social position. On this basis, we probably have not done too well. We still know almost nothing about merit, in the sense of finding out early who has it and then developing the meritorious potential as far as possible. At age 5, who are the best politicians? The best planners? The best doctors? We do not know, although millions of dollars have been spent in "talent

CHART A
Total Money Income in 1969
Males Age 35-44



searches" of various kinds. Oddly enough, the "most talented" often end up being those youth whose characteristics most resemble those of the people who make up the tests! Thus, the use of higher education as the major societal agency for sorting out the "good" people from the "mediocre" seems not to have been too successful.

It may be better in the long run to have many social institutions, each with a filtration system working to develop and extend its own definition of merit. Motorola and General Motors Institutes exist because of the conviction in these firms that they can make certain judgments and develop certain educational procedures better than colleges and universities can. They are probably right. And the young will probably be better off with a *plurality* of models of excellence

which would allow them to admire the first-rate artisan more than the second-rate lawyer.

The Newman Commission's Second Report will include material on the regional examining university, through which anyone can be tested for any given occupational role, regardless of the time they have spent in college. If such degrees (highly keyed into what the occupational structure wants) were granted by a specialized institution like the regional examining university, it would free the rest of the campuses from the many problems of degree granting, and might allow them to become *teaching* institutions, dedicated to pursuing and communicating truth and skills to those who desire them—but not to decide who is good enough for the outside world. Let the outside world do that.

If institutions of higher education really provided a plurality of standards of excellence, the situation would be improved, but the last two decades have been times of great homogenization of higher education in the United States. Funding is tending to come from the same sources; we all use the SAT for admission, the CSS formula for student aid, and we all have wanted to add graduate programs in as many areas as possible in order to emulate our only model—the research-based, student-ignoring, on-the-make institution, constantly growing in size and in the ability to absorb federal funds, particularly overhead on contract research.

In 1968, according to the results of a questionnaire, there were more than 11,000 faculty members in American colleges and universities who did no teaching at all. Presidents estimated that by 1975 this number would increase to more than 20,000 in 356 institutions. The questionnaire indicated the following trends for the nation as a whole:

	1948	1958	1968	1975 (est.)
Number of institutions	72	94	276	356
Number of faculty engaged solely in research	2,610	4,130	11,134	21,260

This monolithic status system, based on increasing size and more and more research, shows up with great uniformity in our *Institutions in Transition* data, collected in 1968-69. Indeed, the presidents from 1,230 institutions indicated, almost universally, that they saw growth as the solution to the problems, rather than being a problem in itself. Institutions with 2,000 students saw their salvation as growing to 3,000, those of 3,000 said that all their problems would be solved if they hit 4,000, and so on up the line.

We now know that this is a fundamentally naive position, that increased size almost never makes an institution more cost-effective, and that rapid increases in size can result in badly distorted communication systems and shattered morale. In the Carnegie study, the one variable that predicted increased student protest better than any other was institutional size (see Table 2).

Regardless of highest degree awarded, regardless of source of control, regardless of region of the country, as you increase the size of reporting institutions, you also increase the percentage reporting that student protest had increased.

During this period of the sixties, many presidents acted like real estate developers, losing sight of institutional goals in the frantic quest for more federal funds and more graduate programs. To some extent they aided and abetted some faculty inclinations in this direction. Federal funding sources seemed oblivious to the damage they were doing to institutional quality. Indeed, the major criterion of a multiversity is its insatiable appetite—its inability to say no to anyone who wanted any job done for any price, its unwillingness to practice selective negligence, or its ability to say no to tasks or money that would compromise the institutions's objectives.

It is perhaps fortunate for higher education that this expansionist era ended as early as it did. Student enrollments are showing a very slow rate of advance, and around the 1980 mark there will begin a decline in the college-going age cohort. We will have to learn to substitute the word "better"

Table 2. INSTITUTIONS REPORTING STUDENT PROTEST

Institutions	Increase in protest			Institutions in sample
	No. of institutions	Percent	No change	
<i>By size (enrollment)</i>				
Small (under 1,000)	72	14	234	561*
Medium (1,000-5,000) ..	154	32	223	468
Large (5,000-15,000) ..	75	58	43	128
Giant (15,000-25,000) ..	24	75	4	32
Super (25,000 and over)	8	88	1	9

	Increase in protest		No change	
	Mean size of institution	Number	Mean size of institution	Number
<i>By highest degree awarded</i>				
Less than baccalaureate	3,282	66	1,707	198
Baccalaureate	1,197	79	1,147	161
Master's degree	3,987	102	2,708	135
Doctorate	12,014	90	5,360	45
<i>By type of control</i>				
Public	8,282	161	3,005	242
Private sectarian	1,894	96	1,109	169
Private nonsectarian	3,770	77	1,319	94

* A large number of "small" institutions have had no student protest and therefore could not report any change.

for the word "more." There is much talk now about accountability, which in the minds of many educators seems to mean retribution ("When they find out what a bad job I've done, I'll get fired"). But accountability can just as easily provide a *working* reward system for those areas of higher education which can demonstrate their effectiveness.

Programmatic and institutional evaluation and assessment will undoubtedly be important concerns for higher education in the seventies—and we will be stronger and will have more public support as a consequence of this concern. It is not true that state legislators are dead set against higher education—those I have spoken with have been remarkably

open to discussions of how higher education could be improved, more so than many faculty groups I have addressed. Our job will be to convince them that we can do better at what we say we are good at.

But the old grandiose claims do not stand up to the evidence. We know that those who drop out have slightly better grade point averages than those who stay in. Those who "flunk out" are a very small fraction of those who leave. Among the leavers are some of the most creative students in higher education. The freshman year in many institutions is an unmitigated disaster, and most of the attrition occurs here. Few institutions have taken the trouble to find out why. We know that many tenure decisions are made on whim and rumor, even though the decision to place a man on tenure may involve well over a half million dollars of the institution's scarce resources. We know that budget allocations may reflect the expedience of pressure politics rather than commitment to institutional objectives. The public, having been totally insulated from these decisions, has a natural desire to know what is going on.

I believe that higher education can meet these challenges very well. Many prophets speak today of the demise of the four-year college, but in order to get an accurate view, we must look at births compared to deaths. The *Institutions in Transition* data reveal that through the last three decades the numbers of institutions that closed every year were quite similar to present rates—about fourteen institutions were closing every year. There is an increase in 1972, but not the epidemic that was predicted. And, one must look at the large number of new institutions which have come into being lately—for example, Empire State in New York, Evergreen State in Washington, Sanganon and Governor's State in Illinois, and the University of Wisconsin at Green Bay. Not only are these new institutions, they are lively and exciting places with different ways of accomplishing the educational mission. In addition to these new institutions, there are an



enormous number of small enclaves in existing institutions, such as New College at the University of Alabama, Livingstone College at Rutgers, the Little College at Bowling Green, Johnston College at Redlands, and on and on.

In addition to these developments one must look outside colleges and universities to get the awareness of hunger for educational experiences shared by large sectors of our society, including those well over thirty. The *People's Yellow Pages* lists an incredible array of educational resources, most of them free. It is a kind of *Whole Earth Catalogue* for education. There are more than ten institutions in the United States that can be called universities without walls because they have no geographically defined campus. They exist as resource networks into which people can move with great freedom and flexibility. Over 300 institutions now have adopted the 4-1-4 calendar, allowing much greater access to experiences beyond those of any single campus or department.

Many students are now writing learning contracts and are finding that the experience of writing the contract, with the aid of a skilled teacher (called "mentors" at Empire State), can be a most profound learning experience in itself. At some institutions, faculty are also writing growth contracts, in which they specify what new skills they would like to develop during the next three- or four-year interval. And at Hampshire, even the administration is writing contracts, on the basis of which they are systematically evaluated. In San Francisco, two old warehouses have become centers for an amazing variety of instructional projects, mostly based on the notion of learning by doing. This movement is national in scope, and if we observe it carefully, we can learn a great deal as to where we need to improve conventional instruction. There are now several "blue-ribbon" commissions established to look into the issues of nontraditional study, and many university extension programs are in for a rebirth of interest and resources. Thus, the potential for the diversifica-

tion of educational resources and opportunities seems very high.

I am not suggesting that all existing programs should begin to emulate these newer developments, as that would simply reduce the amount of diversity available. But regardless of the goals of an institution, I think that all institutions can learn something about how to *organize* their educational resources for maximum effectiveness in meeting the needs of society and individual students. As a rather mundane metaphor, consider the conventional cafeteria line. Note that the food is laid out in one sequence—salads, breads, vegetables, meats, drinks, and desserts—and the customer has to go by a great deal of food he doesn't want to buy. There is also great pressure—mostly from fellow customers—to “stay in line,” even though the others may complain about the slowness of the line. This linear pattern is characteristic of much of higher education, in our rigid series of course prerequisites (even though some research indicates that those who are let into the advanced course without the prerequisite do just as well), the way we plan a student's program, the way a faculty member becomes a full professor, the way budgets are composed.

Consider for a moment an alternative kind of cafeteria organization, usually called the scrambled-access model. Around an open area different types of foods are displayed at separate locations. Breads, meats, and salads may be arranged on one side and vegetables, drinks, and desserts on the other. In this plan, the customer is free to go to any station he wishes, in any order, to get the food he wants and only that. Surprisingly, although the start-up costs are a little higher, once in operation, the scrambled-access system can get about 20 percent more people through per hour; although it *looks* chaotic, it is actually more efficient. (The university without walls appears chaotic the first time you hear about it, too.) But the most interesting thing about this example was the response of a group of cafeteria managers to

this new model—their response was that it was immoral, for if you let people choose freely, they would take nothing but desserts. It was the *line* that forced people past the things that were good for them—end the line and people will choose frivolously! There is no truth in this, of course, as people selected exactly the same meals in the scramble system. But one is reminded of Machiavelli's classic dictum: men must be compelled to be good, or they will invariably turn out to be bad. One is also reminded of registrars who insist on prerequisite courses even though the student has the knowledge in those courses, of departments that will allow only one sequence of course choices, and so on.

I think that we will have to get used to the kind of non-linear thinking that the scramble system represents. There is an order to it, in that we can predict the *aggregate* responses and choices very well even if we cannot predict the food choices of individuals. In higher education, it may be that some of the "food stations" will be off campus entirely; other stations may include course work in rigorous departments of a conventional mode. The large increase in the amount of independent study for all students, not just the exceptionally able, suggests that some educational "stations" may not have to package all their work in "courses" at all.

Using this form of organization, any student should be able to get a good view from the tower, with which we begin, as well as the understanding of the view from ground level. The real task of education may then become that of helping the student to integrate for himself the experiences of first-hand involvement with the social world with the rigorous and analytical skills the disciplines can provide. Even if colleges and universities cannot solve social problems directly, they can and will train the kind of individual's whose breadth of awareness will enable them to put the problems together in new ways—usually the first step in problem solving.

Discussion

Question: With respect to proprietary schools, isn't it true that many specialty schools started this way, for example, medical, dental, and law schools? Are you suggesting that they should become part of the publicly supported university system and that they should be accredited?

Answer: The question raises two important issues—accreditation and eligibility for federal support. It is true that medical schools started as proprietary schools and that they were legitimized early because of strong action by supporting organizations. Many schools operating currently, such as those for cosmetology, barbering, and medical technology, do not have strong organizational support and are not moving quickly towards legitimacy. My point is that doors should be opened to enable these schools to gain legitimacy. This does not imply accreditation to all of them, nor does it imply federal aid. Many schools not accredited nor federally supported serve a large and important clientele. At the same time, new community college programs are being established to train policemen, beauticians, service workers, electronics specialists, and so on. Is it not possible and preferable to legitimize and use existing institutions for these programs rather than building new ones?

Question: The chart you showed (Table 1) makes no reference to community colleges. Are they "core" or "periphery" institutions? Could they be put in the category of undergraduate institutions?

Answer: They are core institutions, definitely. They can also be categorized as undergraduate institutions in that they are eligible for accreditation and federal support. Periphery schools are ineligible for federal support.

Question: How many, if any, students are eligible for the anti-poverty program in the educational periphery because they have completed an undergraduate program in the educational core?

Answer: The individuals included in the anti-poverty category are products of adult education and extension programs and hence are not university students.

Question: Don't large corporations conduct training programs that lead to degrees?

Answer: General Motors Institutes offers B.A. degrees, but General Motors prefers to award a certificate after completion of their management course and sending their employees to the Maxwell School of Management for two years. An interesting example is the cooperation between Eastman Kodak and the University of Rochester, whereby a degree is awarded following completion of parts of the program at both institutions.

Panel of Reactors

RICHARD G. LANDINI, Academic Vice President, University of Montana, *chairman*

BRUCE BRAY, Associate Professor of Music, University of Idaho

NELS HANSON, President, Centralia Community College

ROBERT PECK, Assistant Director, Oregon Educational Coordination Council

RANDELL L. THIESSEN, Student, University of Alberta

DR. LANDINI:

As reactors to Dr. Hodgkinson's address, each of us will respond directly to selected statements made by him. Following these initial responses, time will be provided for an exchange of ideas among panel members and Dr. Hodgkinson. Finally, members of the audience will have the opportunity to participate in the discussions.

MR. BRAY:

First, to those institutions which Dr. Hodgkinson listed as having lost people's confidence might be added *the family*. Its existence as a cohesive and influential institution is undergoing serious stress.

I was stunned by Dr. Hodgkinson's statement that it is the professional training of the faculty that makes it ineffective and that their contribution has been limited to spotting ambiguities and dichotomies. At my own institution the faculty has generated many changes since they have become involved in university governance. Flexibility in curriculum, interdisciplinary programs, student involvement in policy-making, an open atmosphere in university governance, student evaluation of instructors, revised grade structure, and a

representative planning board are among the numerous changes brought about by means of faculty incentive. Incidentally, the greatest opposition to change generally comes from lower level administrators who are obsessed with the importance of detail and regulations.

DR. HANSON:

I am also interested in the issue of institutional governance which was raised by Dr. Hodgkinson and Mr. Bray.

New developments in education immediately raise the question about the administrative framework within which these changes can be achieved readily and most effectively. The president and his administrative staff deal with a number of important and influential publics: (1) The board of trustees in its policy-making capacity and in its capacity representing the taxpayers and the consumers of education; (2) the legislature which provides the funds, probably in accordance with the aspirations which it holds for the institution, with the president viewed as the major referent point within the university; (3) the students to whom the president must be sensitive—those in current attendance, the alumni, and the future students; (4) the general public itself and particularly influential citizens who mold community opinion; (5) the news media, whose interpretation of the university to the whole community can be vital to the image of the institution; and (6) the courts.

It is the administration's role to temper the ambitions of the faculty, so clearly espoused by Mr. Bray, with the roles and aspirations of the other elements of the institution and the external community. As a part of this process, the administration must balance the influences of the internal and external elements so that both may contribute positively to the growth of the institution. Administration must apply theoretical knowledge so that the administrative processes and overall decision-making may proceed within an organized framework.

DR. PECK:

At the outset, Dr. Hodgkinson identified two primary sources of the difficulties facing education today, namely the social consequences of increasing technology and the social consequences of urbanization. My concern is that I was unable to discern any causal relationship between these two factors and his later optimism about the ability of higher education to resolve its problems successfully. Thus I identified five reasons why higher education may not be able to cope with its problems: (1) its institutions are not structured for change; (2) the institutions ignore the fastest growing sector of education, which he termed peripheral education; (3) accreditation procedures are a serious encumbrance; (4) higher education is not viewed as being valuable economically; and (5) higher education is not sufficiently specific in its objectives.

I concur with this type of diagnosis though I do sense some inconsistency between accreditation as an encumbrance on the one hand and the expressed preference for increased accreditation within the peripheral sphere. Further, accreditation operates in the private sector as it does in the public sector; hence peripheral institutions *are* accredited by appropriate accrediting agencies. Again, the categorization of institutions on the basis of eligibility for federal aid overlooks the fact that indirectly federal aid is available to students through the G. I. Bill, various forms of student-aid programs, and through contracting with Boards of Education which provide educational services under federal grants. Finally, I'm at a loss to explain two things on the basis of the presentation: how do we correct the deficiencies which we identified and how can the resources of higher education be applied to the resolution of the two problems initially identified? These issues are crucial to the development of higher education and I look to the conference for further insight and advice.

MR. THIESSEN:

Before giving my reaction to Dr. Hodgkinson's observations, I want to note that I am the only student and the only Canadian on this panel. Both factors may color the views I express.

I agree with the reference to "thick-walled universities" in that more attention is paid to the physical machinery of the university than to its principal occupants—the students. The reference pinpoints the current emphasis on pumping funds into buildings at the expense of the educational process; more buildings require more professors and improved programs. To paraphrase the concern of students, "One can make more money putting up university buildings than one can by attending them."

A second point of emphasis needs revamping. Equating the degree with job opportunity and money and success should be replaced by a formula which recognizes that knowledge gained in the process leading to a degree *may* get one a job which *might* lead to prosperity.

I disagree very strongly with the statement that "many young college graduates now seem to belong to the futilitarian school . . . they have little interest in the world of work . . ." Students with whom I associate are willing to work hard if opportunities are available to them. Finally I feel that intellectuals can help solve the problems of people because they themselves are real people interested in viable solutions.

DR. LANDINI:

I wonder if Dr. Hodgkinson's reference to "incapacity" is really appropriate in this situation. Certainly, and by the speaker's own observations, the expertise, the resources, the facilities, the residual people capacity are present in higher education. What is lacking is the volition, the will, the resolve, the grasping of the necessary sensibilities to respond positively and constructively to present crises. Dr. Hodgkin-

son's description of the crises leaves the impression that higher education, and specifically universities, once had unqualified public credibility. Perhaps what were once the university's virtues were not virtues at all and we've deceived ourselves. The best that can be said for the university is that it has not become what it was never meant to be. At the same time, there has not been the thrust and change in character of the university concomitant with the change, the shifts, and the alteration in our society.

The arts and humanities have been held suspect since the 1940's by both academics and the public. Thus, from the point of view of the arts and humanities, it is difficult to lament the loss of something never possessed.

One final matter of observation is to view and to reconstruct our present attitudes, policies, and procedures in higher education with particular emphasis upon the range and magnitude of peripheral education; present theories of presentation and their problems; present standards, performance, and evaluation within and beyond the academic role; size, role, and scope of institutions; and curricular and program similarities and differences.

DR. SCHAEFER:

I acknowledge the importance of extensive communication and of the value of the committee form of decision making. However, who really takes responsibility for decisions made by committees? Can a Board look to a committee for accountability? Is there a point at which pure democracy becomes inoperative?

Changing the topic somewhat, one of the major problems in higher education is that we are dealing with institutions with different purposes; even universities vary from one another in their goals. The real problem is that any specific university is not certain of its goals. Such a state of uncertainty leads to feverish activity in many directions.

DR. McCARRY:

I agree with Dr. Schafer. With declining enrollments at universities, I sense a willingness to expand through any program including technical and vocational education which is currently the "in" thing. We must, instead, develop institutions that are uniquely different rather than try to be all things to all people. We must identify a role and a responsibility and then respond accordingly.

Referring to statements by Dr. Hodgkinson and Dr. Wyman, is it really true that society has lost faith in our institutions or is it that we ourselves have lost faith in them? Are we not disappointed in our institutions? Have we not reached the point where we dislike what we see around us but can do nothing about it, as in the case of the Sorcerer's Apprentice who wants to turn the water off but doesn't know how?

(See Max Wyman's paper beginning on page 57.)

DR. CAMPBELL:

External critics view academics as being selfish and overprotective in their demands. The academics seek more money; want the right to determine their own numbers; demand the right to set the programs, hours of work, holidays, research commitment, and criteria for tenure.

I can think of a number of program proposals that appear to have been based not on a visible need for the program but on the desire by faculty members to have graduate research assistants. One has to guard against perpetuating personal interests.

MRS. SNOW:

One of the stereotyped roles that has been created for faculty members is that of their preoccupation with research. Students are upset at this stereotype because it prevents the interaction of students with faculty members, both formally and informally. Both should react openly in a learning situation and yet this openness is really lacking in a university.

While on the subject of research, I think students are interested in research too and I believe the University of Lethbridge is one of the few universities where undergraduate students have participated in research and published their results.

DR. CAMPBELL:

Would anyone like to comment on Dr. Wyman's point that there will be some teaching-research institutions and some nonresearch oriented institutions?

DR. MCCARRY:

This development has already come about, both here and in the United States. The two types of institutions are complementary rather than competitive.

MRS. SNOW:

This may well be. However, I can't see how even an undergraduate university can exist without some research. How long can a psychology instructor, for example, just read instead of becoming involved in some research?

MR. DICK:

Both Dr. Wyman and Dr. Hodgkinson referred to the loss of faith by society in its higher education institutions. I would like to pursue that point further. As was pointed out earlier, more of society is more knowledgeable and there is a higher level and frequency of questioning. Yet it is the questioning within the institution that is significant. We look at the consequences of institutional programs and policies and we dislike them. The students dislike them, too, and are seeking other alternatives. The universities have been instrumental in destroying traditional values in society on the pretense that they are objective assessors and have no responsibility for suggesting new values. Our students have also rejected traditional values, yet they have not found any

acceptable alternatives and are floating around in an ambivalent state. I don't think that our society can thrive on that basis. For this reason, we should admit to and examine our own lack of faith in our institutions rather than society's. If anything, society's faith has been too strong, and perhaps it was misplaced.

DR. SCHAEFER:

I want to return to a point made by Dr. Wyman—that we have oversold university education as a route to upward social and economic mobility. While it has served in this capacity in the past, it is most unlikely to do so in the future for we can predict the growth of service occupations in the future—occupations which need not involve university education. Therefore I want to repeat what Dr. Wyman has said—that we consider education for itself. Further leisure time is going to become a reality for a much greater segment of our population, a segment that is gradually going to become much younger and is going to look at the university for assistance in seeking a more meaningful life.

COORDINATION: COOPERATION OR CONTROL

DR. FRANK ABBOTT, *Executive Director*
Colorado Commission on Higher Education

AS I PONDERED the theme of this conference—"Survival and Challenge"—and wondered why the words are placed in that order, I realized that the order flows from the healthy confidence characteristic of the Pacific Northwest. We *assume* survival! The real questions, then, have to do with how we shall meet the challenges.

My interest in the challenges reflects the concern of the statewide higher education agencies rather than that of the student or the teacher or the academic administrator or the ordinary citizen, all of whom, it appears, are much aware of the difficult times in which higher education finds itself.

The earliest evidence that not all was right in the heady air of the 1950's and 1960's began to show nearly ten years ago, with the early manifestations of student subversion or revolution.

It seems apparent that the challenge was represented not so much by the student revolutionaries as by the basic conditions of college and university life which impelled some students (and some faculty) to revolutionary behavior. The basic problem had to do with the relevance of the educational fare made available to those attending the colleges and universities. That fare had become progressively less a positive challenge to the people enrolled—partly because various features of the lockstep impeded change as rapidly as students and "the times" changed; partly because faculty and administrators in the 1950's and early 1960's were able to take students for granted, and so they did take students for granted, while devoting their attention to those matters that

could not be taken for granted (like spending unending hours on devising new forms and procedures for faculty participation in institutional governance; like attending to all the details of reporting and proposing for the next research contract, or for a consulting job, or for a paper for the coming international congress to which travel was provided by federal grant).

College and university programs were less a challenge also because by then a tremendous number of people were enrolling who had no understanding and commitment as to why they were there at all. Coming at a time when "everybody" (everybody from the upper middle and upper strata, anyway) was going to college, when higher education was generally regarded as the prestige step for the high school graduate and as the best possible opportunity for public and private investments, the "student revolt" threw an astounding amount of dust into the air. It clouded an atmosphere that had seemed pure, in which we could see a hundred miles down a highway that led straight into a heavenly future.

This set of uncertain circumstances had been with us barely long enough for the academy to analyze and begin to react to it in positive ways when a second wave hit—the change from the condition of endemic growth to the condition of static or even declining enrollments. The private sector came first, and today it's a rare private institution that has not had two or more years to live new reality; the large public universities have now begun to experience the change, sometimes because outsiders or insiders have imposed limits on size and sometimes (even more perturbing) because students have simply ceased coming! We know that static or, even more likely, declining student numbers will be the norm for most colleges in not too many years. "Few people realize that the under-age-five population in 1969 was 12 percent below its 1965 level," that prophet of reality, Allan Carter, points out. For one who grew through adolescence, as I did,

when sex was taboo and child-rearing was a social good positively encouraged by governments around the globe, it is frustrating to have arrived in later middle age in the era of almost unlimited sexual opportunity and effective taboos on child-bearing.

The leveling out of enrollments in most institutions and the incipient decline in enrollments in an increasing number introduces entirely new factors for institutions and for state-wide higher education agencies to cope with. We only begin to confront the implications for graduate programs long underwritten by large and growing numbers of undergraduates; for faculty personnel policy; for teacher education programs; for the many programs that had marginal numbers of students even in the good old days.

Some of the early response to the leveling of enrollments raises new problems. It has already become fashionable in baccalaureate institutions to acknowledge that vocational motivations are a powerful force driving students to learn even nonvocational subjects; but in their own right, vocational subjects have taken on new and brighter colors, and the traditions of the liberal arts colleges, including public colleges which sought to be like them, are being refurbished in many places to add associate and baccalaureate degrees with immediate occupational goals. Yesterday the goal of these institutions was to become "the Harvard of the West." Today and tomorrow the goal encompasses the characteristics of the junior college around the corner. That's a challenge for the colleges indeed; and it's a challenge for the state higher education agencies, believe me.

Complicating the task of adjusting to static or declining numbers of students are dramatic changes in the composition of student bodies, especially in urban and suburban communities. In Colorado last year fully one-third of all *first time entering* students in our two-year colleges were 25 years of age or older, and in some of our four-year institutions the proportions were also much larger than one would have assumed.

Another change, one that represents much more of a challenge to the colleges, follows from the rapid pace at which lower ability students from lower socio-economic status levels have been going on to college, particularly since the establishment of large-scale federal and state student financial aid programs beginning in the later 1960's. In a study cited by Dr. K. Patricia Cross it was found that six of every ten men in the *lowest* quarter of the study group by socio-economic status and in the third quarter of ability (i.e., just above average) entered a two-year or four-year college in the fall of 1968. In a comparable 1957 study, 28 percent of this same ability-status grouping had done so. "Continued emphasis on access programs in the 1970's will bring increasing numbers of low-ability students into programs of post-secondary education," Dr. Cross writes. "Traditional college programs are not prepared to handle the learning needs of these New Students to higher education."* Therein, in times of static or falling enrollments and revenues and of widespread uncertainty about college goals and accomplishment, lies another significant challenge.

The acute problem of higher education finance derives in part, though only in part, from the circumstances of static or falling enrollments. "The proportion of the state budget going to higher education will be no greater in 1980 than it will be in the next year or so," writes Lyman Glenny. He points out that the *number* of additional students expected in the 1970's will be about the same as the increased number in the 1960's, though the increase in higher education's proportion of GNP will not be the same. It doesn't necessarily need to make for a tolerable situation, but it is disturbing to recognize that the primacy of education among public aspirations and priorities has been challenged, not only by highways but now by health care, environmental and recreational goals,

* *New Students and New Needs in Higher Education*. Berkeley: Center for Research and Development in Higher Education, 1972, p. 18.

and perhaps other public priorities. Moreover, it seems very likely that in the United States, patterns of state and local finance are in for major overhaul during the decade by virtue of recent and probably long overdue court decisions relating to public school finance—a decade higher education has entered on the defensive. It is not a reassuring circumstance.

About a year ago some of you, I would guess, attended another conference with a theme not so different from ours: "The Public Challenge and the Campus Response." Alex C. Sheriffs, Governor Reagan's education consultant, served us all with a blunt and honest keynote address that I think we can and must accept as reflective of the views of a preponderant part of the informed and formerly supportive public:

Where are we not? Where do we go from here? One thing for sure: neither the university public relations officer nor the alumni secretary can any longer do his job as he once did. The public knows too much. When public confidence does return, it will be because it has been earned.*

In light of higher education's current array of challenges and the public's general disenchantment with governmental action in virtually all spheres, the earning of public confidence is no small undertaking, but the necessity of earning and maintaining public confidence is nothing new for higher education. What is relatively new is the depth of public participation in and knowledge about higher education.

In the earliest years of the state universities, back before the Civil War, a number of states created these institutions in the confident belief that they knew what they wanted. A "university" had a reasonably well-defined visage; it served to train up the learned professions, and it flourished when left in the charge of a body of laymen, insulated from the interventions of political officers. Only a tiny fraction of

* *The Public Challenge and the Campus Response*. Boulder, Colorado: WICHE, 1971, p. 4.

the public had any contact with the early universities which, having generated the leadership of public and religious affairs, were held in high esteem.

In the century that followed the Civil War higher education grew in scope, variety, complexity, cost, and public participation probably as much as any activity of state government. The advent of the colleges of agriculture and mechanical arts, of the normal schools and teachers colleges, of the junior colleges, of the state colleges and state universities—these evolutions came along without the benefit of overall plan or direction in response to developing needs and demands for new educational programs.

In a very genuine sense Montana was the first state to recognize the potential advantage in providing one locus of control and direction for public education, creating a state board of education in the original constitution of 1889 and placing under that board the three higher education institutions which it established in 1893. (I would gladly give credit to New York with its Board of Regents created in 1784, except that New York did not really get serious about higher education until after 1948; or to Iowa, if it had maintained the single board it established in 1857 and abandoned in 1864.) South Dakota followed the Montana example in 1897. Then beginning with Florida in 1905, in the next 30 years, ten more states attempted to deal with unwelcome competition and overlapping in higher education by creating one board to govern all their colleges and universities. Counting states with a single university, there were sixteen such boards by the late thirties.

In 1941, Oklahoma created a new concept of state direction for higher education with the establishment of the State Regents for Higher Education. The state regents had certain constitutionally specified functions and powers, but the institutional governing boards continued to have immediate direction of the institutions. The authority vested in the state regents had to do with those functions of planning and direc-

tion that determined how fully the existing institutions could meet changing needs for educational opportunity; with recommendations for establishment of new institutions; with the allocation of resources; and with accountability for public expenditures for higher education. This was the first of what has come to be known as the coordinating boards, as distinguished from the statewide governing boards which had direct operating or governing responsibility and authority over one or more institutions.

In the years of very rapid growth of higher education which followed World War II, in the face of many new institutions and hundreds of thousands of new students and millions of dollars of added expenditures, almost without exception the states found that they had to have one state agency to give direction to state action in the field of higher education, and the coordinating board was the predominant form that was adopted. As of 1971 only Delaware, Vermont, and Nebraska were without some form of overall state organization. Nineteen states had single governing boards, with the most recent newcomers to this group being Rhode Island, West Virginia, and Utah. Twenty-eight states had coordinating boards, with a slight preponderance of those that might be called "advisory" rather than possessing "governing powers."

Though the terms "coordinating board" and "governing board" are useful terms to describe quite different structures and allocations of power, *coordination* may be considered not only as a structure but also as a goal, and it may be viewed as a process. As a goal or as a process, coordination may be pursued by using different types of structures. That is, I do not mean to claim for coordinating boards in an exclusive way the virtues I see in coordination as a goal or as a process. There are statewide governing boards which have taken upon themselves strong centralized governance and control over higher education, and there are coordinating boards which have tended to do so also; but there also are governing

boards which have delegated substantial powers to boards which were established to serve in an essentially advisory relationship to institutions or groups of institutions, so that the total state organization looks more like a coordinating than a governing agency. Just as a governing board can endeavor to work through the processes of eliciting common, even voluntary action, so a coordinating board can, and in specified areas it does, carry the authority of governance.

Nevertheless the distinctions between "coordination" and "governing" seem to me to be significant. Webster says that to coordinate is "to bring into a common action, movement, or condition: *harmonize*." In coordination there is the connotation of voluntarism, or at the least of decentralization of authority, and action carries an implication of cooperation. "Governing" on the other hand implies central direction, regulation, and control.

The claims for and against coordinating boards are many. We do not need to inventory them all, but one from each perspective will help to highlight the strengths and limitations of each. Surely, Lyman Glenny is the proper authority to enlist in behalf of coordinating boards. In concert with Robert Berdahl, Ernest Paiola, and J. G. Paltridge in the "coordinating cookbook" published a year ago, he makes the case thus:

Coordinating boards provide a vehicle through which both the public interests of the state and those of the educational community can be objectively and dispassionately considered and acted upon. The board operates in a kind of no-man's-land between higher education and the state government. Its effectiveness depends on maintaining the confidence of both. If the board is consistently dominated by, or is thought to be dominated by, the higher educators (as are statewide governing boards), it loses credibility in the state capitol. Conversely, if the board consistently acts, or is thought to act, merely as an arm of state government, the institutions lose their cooperative spirit. Even though a board may find it virtually impossible to maintain a perfect equilibrium between these two forces, balance should be the goal. The

board membership, the staff, the powers, and the advisory networks should all reflect this dual obligation.*

From the other perspective, writing of the multi-campus university, Eugene C. Lee and Frank M. Bowen take a more critical view of coordinating agencies:

At one and the same time, they are expected to be both agencies of the state to control higher education and a spokesman for those to be controlled. In addition to the conflict inherent in these two roles, the coordinating agency is also generally expected to take a third role as a completely neutral arbitrator between the various elements of higher education. That the coordinating agency's position is merely ambiguous and not totally impossible is attributable to the possibility that rarely are any of these conflicting expectations very strongly held, even by the coordinating agency itself.

As an agency of the state, the coordinating agency suffers from the need of an independent political base. It lacks alumni, parents, students, faculty, football teams, and local community support. In addition to or perhaps because of this lack of support, it is generally less prestigious than multi-campus or campus boards. On the other hand, as the spokesman for higher education, it lacks credibility with its supposed constituency. With limited exceptions therefore, the coordinating agency is politically vulnerable, relying upon the governor and key legislators to support most of its activities. The price of support in more than one state is that the agency serves as budgetary agent for the governor, or perhaps staff to a legislative committee. In either case, political vulnerability weakens its ability to meet its other responsibilities.

Most of the coordinating agencies, however, do not appear to be effective agents of either the governor or the legislature.†

With that resounding vote of confidence, in response to an invitation to speak directly concerning some of our experiences in Colorado, I propose to make some observations concerning nearly seven years of coordination in Colorado. Obviously these must remain as observations only; I am too enmeshed in the action to render evaluations in a setting other than that of a debate.

* *Coordinating Higher Education for the '70's, Multi-campus and Statewide Guidelines for Practice*, pp. 5-6.

† *The Multi-campus University*, McGraw-Hill, 1971, pp. 53-54.

1. The functions and authority assigned to Colorado Commission on Higher Education and exercised by it have grown steadily and substantially. This growth is the result of both executive and legislative action and of a growing perception on the part of the coordinating board and its staff of the scope and importance of the job and of the need for action by the state agency.

Once a statewide higher education agency has been created, other executive branch agencies find ways to put it to work on matters of both large and picayune moment. Even before the Commission was staffed to undertake a significant role in reviewing institutional master plans and pre-architectural planning for specific facilities, our Division of Public Works had taken steps to modify state procedures so that Commission approval was made a pre-condition of public works action. Before the law made it appropriate for the Commission to review pre-architectural planning for facilities built from nonstate funds, public works similarly made our approval antecedent to their own approval. In a more trivial vein, some executive departments now decline to communicate with the colleges except through my office—adding routines to our operation that we are not staffed to carry out.

The legislature also uses a central agency once one has been created. For example, though the law makes the Executive Director of the State Department of Administration the czar of all automated data processing hardware, software, personnel, and expenditures in the state, the legislature—at the Commission's urging—appropriated all ADP funds for higher education to the Commission last year and again this year, to help give some emphasis to the several important distinctions of data processing in our area from others in state government. Upon legislative initiative, all state funds for student financial aid—some \$9,000,000 now—were appropriated to the Commission beginning last year for allocation to the institutions following the development by the Commis-

sion of guidelines and reporting procedures relating to the use of these funds. This year, again on legislative initiative, funds for the purchase of library books and periodicals similarly have been appropriated to the Commission—a measure that commended itself to the legislature when they found money that had been requested and justified for book acquisition was being used for other things, some related to libraries and some not.

In the first two years, the Commission was funded at a level of \$75,000 in state funds, and in addition we expended about \$40,000 in federal funds available for administering the Higher Education Facilities Act. We had four professional and two clerical employees. For 1972-73 our state appropriation for administration is \$267,186 with an additional \$104,800 in federal funds, permitting us to employ fifteen professional and eight clerical staff members. I must say that for seven years we had been out of breath from running to keep from getting further behind, and next year will be another year of the same.

2. Observation number two is that we have felt and continue to feel from other executive branch agencies and from the legislature, pressures to assert a more "executive" or directive role. This pressure has been far less on the executive side than it might have been had we had in the governorship an individual who wanted to see his own perceptions and preferences enforced throughout the state rather than an individual who to a remarkable degree has felt, as the Commission does, that strength accrues more from initiative and diversity than from uniformity. There has nonetheless been considerable pressure, especially from the Department of Administration, to whip the colleges into line behind an executive budget. There has been an unmistakable preference in the same department that the Commission take responsibility for direction of a regional computing center in Denver in lieu of assigning its operation to one or a consor-

tium of institutions. There has been nudging from both the Executive Budget Office and the Legislative Joint Budget Committee to give higher priority than the Commission felt it could give in the face of other urgent tasks, to the assertion of control over extension programs.

The Commission has been severely criticized this year by some members of the legislative budget committee—probably the most powerful agency in our state government—for alleged failure to see if declarations of legislative intent (for example, relating to the size of faculty salary increases or the number of library book acquisitions) have been enforced by governing boards. At times the legislative budget committee seems to expect us to function as a statewide governing board.

3. Observation number three is that as the years have passed, the Commission's information and advice have been increasingly valued by the legislature until at present; though by no means is that advice always followed, we almost always have a timely opportunity to present it. Perhaps because all of the members of the Commission were appointed by the present governor and several of them are respected friends, even though not necessarily of his party, the Commission has consistently been able to advise with the governor in a fashion that has seemed to be mutually satisfactory.

During the past year we had a painful experience which was unfortunate for higher education, yet instructive for us and probably illustrative in a rather vivid way of some of the tightrope walking that coordinating boards must do.

The subject matter has to do with executive and legislative roles in budget-building, including the role of the Commission. For many years in Colorado the budget has in fact been written by a group of six men representing both houses and both parties, comprising the Joint Budget Committee of the Legislature. The tradition is that after extensive committee review, a budget proposal emerges from the committee

in the closing days of the session, moves through both houses without amendment (unless sponsored by the committee), and is enacted. The Joint Budget Committee has little respect for the work of the Executive Budget Office and, indeed, it rather delights sometimes in taking very different positions on certain revenue and expenditure items. The reciprocal of this evaluation and condition of esteem prevails from the EBO side, but of course the legislature has the last word.

Three years ago Colorado reorganized the executive branch and created seventeen executive departments, and the heads of most of them are appointed by the governor. With expenditure levels a major political issue, as always, the governor understandably saw this as an opportunity to develop a stronger executive budget position. The head of the Department of Higher Education is appointed by the Commission on Higher Education, not by the governor. Higher education receives about 25 percent of the total tax fund appropriation in our state. Naturally the Executive Budget Office and the governor desired higher education to participate in the formulation and in the support of the executive budget.

From the standpoint of state government there is much to be said for the formulation of an executive budget proposal that reflects an overall assessment of revenues and of priorities for expenditure. The legislature is by no means bound to accept such a proposal, yet one might assume that the legislature would rather insist that it receive the governor's best analysis and recommendation and that this recommendation would carry a great deal of weight.

In states with coordinating boards, the budget process is often cumbersome because of the multiplicity of levels of review. For the institutional department or professional school which endures review (and reductions) by the chief academic officer, the president and governing board, and the coordinating board, there are yet further reviews (and reductions) in the executive budget office and finally in the legislature. If the process could pull together the coordinating

board and executive by some procedure that would preserve the prerogatives of each, it should be a good thing.

In response to the Governor's request this past year and with the background of excellent give-and-take relationships with the governor over the past several years, the Commission agreed to work closely with the Executive Budget Office in the development of the factual base and in the assessment of budgetary needs in higher education. Whether the Commission would ultimately support the executive budget was left open, depending on what that budget proposal turned out to be.

Without going into too much detail, let me simply report that at the very last moment the Commission decided that it would support the governor's budget. It felt that it was debatable whether it was supporting the governor's budget or the governor was supporting the Commission budget.

When the Commission arrived at the hearing room of the Legislative Joint Budget Committee it was informed pointedly and with emphasis that in the judgment of JBC, the Commission had failed to meet its statutory obligation by working with the Executive Budget Office and supporting the Governor's budget.

I must say that the statutes are not entirely clear as to the Commission's responsibility to function either as a line agency of the executive branch or as an agency housed in the executive branch with certain special obligations of service to the legislature in addition to its obligations to the chief executive. From the beginning the Commission's concept has been that it serves as a "resource" to both. The point I want to emphasize is that the legislature, whatever the governor's perception, clearly and forcefully sees the Commission as having responsibilities of direct and objective relationships to the legislature as well as to the governor. It is an interesting and an important concept, one that I hope we can fulfill despite the ambiguities.

4. My fourth observation is that the institutions of higher education strongly desire that the Commission function as their advocate before executive and legislative agencies. They are quite critical at what they perceive as our ineffectiveness (and even unwillingness) in this role.

This perception has evolved somewhat over the seven years of the Commission's existence. At the outset the institution presidents tended to view the role of the Commission as a successor to the voluntary association of presidents that preceded it. Some of them, I believe, felt that it was the proper function of the Commission to bundle up the institution requests, budgetary and otherwise, and simply pass them on to the governor and legislature. The Commission has consistently felt that any such policy would represent no service either to the governor and the legislature or to the institutions.

In my opinion the institutions today have a more realistic concept of the role of the Commission as a state agency dedicated to the extension of effective higher educational service to the people of the state, all with due regard for resource limitations. The people remain critical, I think justly so to a considerable extent, of our inability to tell the higher education story as widely and effectively as they would like. They are not aware and probably cannot be made aware of the constructive impact we can have in quiet but important moments upon executive and legislative action in numerous respects.

For the future, surely forces and counterforces will continue to operate as in the past, and whether coordination will reflect the face of cooperation or the face of control is uncertain. "Overall," Lyman Glenny has pointed out, "the constraints applied by coordinating boards to the institutions can be considerable, and they will be even more severe in the future . . . With level funding, level and then diminishing enrollments, and state aid to private colleges, state planning boards will determine the future size and program of most

institutions. Having said this, let me also read in one very important caveat about which state agency will do the planning. If the state board fails to achieve all of the objectives which the state government thinks desirable, then the state budget office of the governor will do the principal coordinating."^{*}

While Glenny strongly prefers the concept of the coordinating board, standing between state government and the institutions, an old graduate school fellow student and good friend of mine, Dr. Alan K. Campbell, now Dean of the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University, has a different prescription for the educational organization of the future, one that has a good many adherents in practical as well as academic political science. He writes: "At the state level education should become an executive department like any other, with its head appointed by the governor." This position is based, he explains, on "the very large role which the state should play in this new system, and the increasingly dysfunctional role of the 'independence' and 'no-politics' characterization of education."^{**}

I do not believe that those forces which are pushing toward increased central planning, direction, and accounting for higher education are yet growing tired; they are not slowing down. I share to a considerable degree Lyman Glenny's concerns. However, despite my pristine upbringing in the discipline of public administration, I reject Scotty Campbell's prescription for higher education in the United States.

I do not see how an executive head subject to gubernatorial appointment and dismissal could function in anything but a highly directive and even arbitrary way in times of economic, social, or political stress. Depending upon the personal and political qualities of the governor and such an

^{*} Address at New England Board of Higher Education Conference, December 1971.

^{**} *Compact*, Vol. 6, No. 2, April 1972, Educational Commission of the States, p. 33.

executive head for education, even in tranquil times the nature of the direction might be highly directive. Education is a process that is created and nurtured through subtle human, nonmechanical qualities and inputs. Its goals are the product of values more than of things. Its quality—itsself a matter of judgment—is the result of human judgments about content and methods of particular programs and efforts. This kind of enterprise, it seems obvious to me, must at any cost be protected from the goals and methods and personal proclivities of any one person or party or ruling clique.

The questions that are most important in considering how higher education should be organized get down to basic goals, basic values. How much do we value variety and spontaneity and initiative as compared to neatness and conformity with pre-ordained standards or directions? What returns can be expected from multiple centers of initiative and decision as against the returns from one?

These are the questions that must be reckoned with by those who go about structuring and restructuring higher education.

Discussion

Chairmen: JAMES SMALL, University of Alberta
J. R. CRAWLEY, Northern Montana College
LARRY HOYE, University of Lethbridge

Issues discussed included: Coordination, Transfer, Evaluation, Canadian-Federal-Provincial funding arrangements, Provincial coordinating agencies in Alberta.

Coordination

1. There was consensus that more cooperation is necessary among the various educational institutions—colleges and universities, community colleges, vocational-technical schools, and high schools.

2. Many boards and commissions of education are dependent upon political appointment and this creates the expectation that appointees will reflect the wishes of the political party in office.

3. Coordination by outside agencies may result in some loss of freedom by institutions.

4. Consideration should be given to the advisability of establishing a board that will exercise a coordinating function among agencies and institutions extending from kindergarten through university.

5. Coordinating boards should ensure the absence of duplication of services and programs among all institutions in higher education.

6. Ways of incorporating views of the public into the Board's deliberations should be explored and implemented.

Transfer

1. Transferability of credits from community colleges to colleges and universities should be studied.

2. Any student course work at the point of entry should be evaluated and credit awarded on the basis of comparable course work available at the college.

3. The state of Oregon has established a commission to discuss transfers from community colleges to four-year colleges. It concerns itself with such things as admission, transfer of credits, and standing.

Evaluation

1. The problems of when and how to evaluate students were discussed.

2. An outside agency may have to assume responsibility for evaluation.

3. National evaluation programs have not received wide acceptance.

4. The question of granting credit for experience was raised. No standard can be set; this must be resolved on an individual basis.

Canadian-Federal-Provincial Funding Arrangements

Fifty percent of university operating expenditures in Canada are borne by the federal government by means of grants to provincial governments, thus recognizing provincial jurisdiction over education constitutionally.

Provincial Coordinating Agencies in Alberta

Alberta has no overall coordinating agency as yet, though higher education has recently been brought under the jurisdiction of one government department for the first time. The Colleges Commission, with jurisdiction over community colleges, and the Universities Commission are still in operation.

Question: We continue to hear much about consensus at a time when confrontation and adversary relationships are a reality. Do you not think that we are deceiving ourselves when we talk of consensus?

Answer: Yes and no. Within general policy decisions at a university it is possible to reach agreement. Policy-making bodies have large student, faculty, and administration repre-

sentation and such bodies reach agreement regularly. On the other hand, agreement on policy details will rarely if ever be reached at these large bodies and must therefore be left to much smaller but representative committees to hammer out. Decision-making has broken down because of the failure to recognize this simple fact.

Question: What is your quarrel with formula financing?

Answer: A formula which is to be applied equitably to all universities and colleges under widely varying conditions has not been devised yet. The present formula, borrowed in its entirety from Ontario, has not reflected concern for fluctuating enrollments, for example.

Question: Is there a contradiction in your unwillingness to accept proposals by numerous commissions such as those by Worth, Wright, and Lamontaegne, and your insistence that society must provide fiscal support for higher education? How is society to decide on the extent of this fiscal support if it does not have the opportunity to inquire through the studies by these commissions?

Answer: I don't feel this is a contradiction. What I dislike is the basic assumption by most commissions that what was done within higher education in the 1960's was wrong. I believe that there were no better alternatives which could have been employed to resolve the problems in the 1960's. However, times have changed and so have the problems. There is no doubt that different solutions are needed. There are specific assumptions within each report which I cannot accept, either, as these lack documentation and proof.

Question: The University of Alberta was one of the first and remains one of the few universities to grant parity membership on its academic council to students. Can you interpret for us the degree of success of this new venture in the overall area of participatory democracy and decision-making?

Answer: Frankly, the great majority of issues debated within General Faculties Council are routine. Hence the introduction of parity representation has not made any difference in the types of decisions reached. Voting in blocks has not been any more characteristic of student participation than it has of faculty or administration. Student representation was instrumental in moving decision-making into the open, and there are a number of issues on which students have presented a different perspective; this is highly desirable.

THE STATE OF THE UNION

MAX WYMAN

President, University of Alberta

Ladies and gentlemen, this happens to be my first visit to the University of Lethbridge and I am indeed very much impressed. I have visited this city many times and I am always glad to come back and am proud of this city.

In his book, *No Easy Victories*, John W. Gardner writes, "Universities don't spring up in the desert, nor in primitive societies. A great university is the product of a great cultural tradition and a vital civilization. It can flourish only in a society that has the will to nurture such a tradition and the vitality to support it." I have used this quotation several times because Gardner has said all that is really necessary. The building of a great university requires the cooperation and support of society, of the government that speaks for that society, and of the staff and students of the institution involved. These different constituent groups must be united in their perception of the goals to be achieved and the process by which the goals may be attained. It is the state of this union among society, the government that speaks for that society, and the staff and students of the institutions involved about which I wish to speak today.

During the twenty years extending from 1950 to 1970, the various members of this union all worked to a common end. At that time it was taken as axiomatic that education was important, so important that universal accessibility to institutions of post-secondary education was deemed a right not a privilege. Students accepted the judgment of society about the value of education and flocked to universities in unprecedented numbers.

Governments listened to society and provided the capital and operating funds which allowed a rate of expansion the likes of which is not likely to be repeated during the remainder of this century. Staffs responded to this stimulus and the results of their efforts are becoming visible to everyone. During such an era it did not seem important to ask to whom the university belongs. All members of the union agreed on the goals to be achieved and most members were satisfied at the rate at which goals were being achieved.

The era that began with the rise of the student estate fairly early in the 1960's and grew in militancy for the rest of the decade ostensibly ended with the extreme violence that occurred at Kent State. So much has now been written about this era that I shall not bore you with an analysis of those times. There is no question that student militancy had an impact on society, and society began to lose its faith in its educational institutions. However, this is not the major factor that changed society's unquestioned faith in its educational institutions to open hostility towards these same institutions.

The exponential growth of educational expenditures led to this hostility—a rate of growth that exceeded the corresponding rate of growth of the GNP by a factor of three. It was argued that if this were allowed to continue, the whole of the GNP would be consumed within a number of years by educational expenditures with the obvious implication that this increase would have to be stopped. Society no longer worried about the goals to be achieved and its vision polarized to the point that only the costs were to be considered. Governments, as they must, listened to society and determined efforts to curtail educational expenditures are now being made all over this continent.

The staffs of universities consist of hard-working people who are dedicated to their disciplines. Their obvious love for their discipline and deep appreciation for its beauty makes members wonder what has gone wrong, certain that they are

not to blame. Yet they feel threatened, not realizing or accepting fully that one era has ended and a new one has begun.

There is now no common understanding among society, government, and institutions in regard to the goals to be achieved, and in such circumstances the members of the union have become adversaries instead of partners. Today, an answer to the question "To whom does the university belong?" has become of paramount importance. Upon the answer the future of our universities will depend. Historically, this question has been asked and answered many times. At the beginning, a university belonged to its students. Students hired professors, paid their salaries, and dictated the curriculum to be studied. Some time later the state or church took control and boards of governors or boards of regents became the common form of governing bodies for universities. At that time the state or church owned the university and the state or church rigidly dictated the policies of these institutions.

During the 20th century a new philosophy of ownership was enunciated, a philosophy that said that the academic staff is the university. This philosophy permeated the Duff-Berdahl Report and Canadian universities reacted favourably to it. During the 1960's major decision-making powers were given to the academic staffs of the universities in Canada. The rise of the student estate challenged this philosophy, and the concept of participatory democracy was mooted by student groups all over the world. Student unrest and extreme student militancy were not as severe in Canada as they were in the United States, France, and Germany. It therefore may seem strange that recognition of the student estate came faster in Canada than in other countries.

In Canada, students have gained meaningful representation on boards of governors, academic senates, and all the major decision-making bodies in the university structure. Although again it may seem strange, I do not believe this has

been accidental. Although Canada has hardly attained utopia, it has been a wonderful country in which to live for the vast majority of its people. At the present time the provinces have chosen conservative, new democratic party, and liberal forms of governments, a diversity that exists among few of the countries of the world and would be forbidden by many of these countries. We have in fact fostered participatory democracy, and the mood of our nation is that people should have an important role to play in making the decisions that will affect their lives. However, as much as I believe that the people of Canada should enjoy such a right, I must admit that no satisfactory way has evolved to protect such a right where adversary situations exist.

We need only witness the severe power struggle that exists between labor and management and even labor and government to realize that the satisfactory vehicle by means of which people can play a meaningful role in making decisions which affect our lives is still nothing more than a vision. This is the situation that now exists among the various groups that must cooperate to deliver education to the people of Canada. The major goal of society has now become the minimization of the cost of its educational systems. The jargon now being used contains the terms "cost effectiveness," "efficiency," "productivity," and a host of others, a jargon that is foreign to the educational community. The importance of highly qualified staffs, well-stocked libraries, and modern equipment has become a sacrificial lamb to be offered at the altar of the great god "accountability." No one in his right mind would bet that a plebiscite giving more money to an educational institution could be won anywhere in Canada.

The extreme financial pressures that are being placed on the educational institutions of the world have caused academic staffs to feel threatened, and this feeling of insecurity has caused fragmentation among and within universities. Academic staffs are dedicated people and their immediate short-term goal has become the preservation of their disci-

pline. Claims are now being made that far too much money is being spent in the administration of educational institutions, claims that are usually being made on the flimsiest of evidence. Claims are now being made that certain programs of studies are not university-type level and should be transferred to other institutions. The latter claim is made on the expectation that the transfer of these programs would result in additional money for the disciplines that remain, an expectation that will not be realized under the normal forms of formula finances.

Their own economic welfare does not at the present time seem nearly so important to the academic staffs of the Canadian universities as it seems to the corresponding staffs of the universities in the United States. The reaction of academic staffs in that country to extreme financial pressure has been a concerted drive towards the achievements of the rights of collective bargaining. If you read the official positions of the American Association of University Professors, one issued in 1966 and the other in 1972, it is hard to believe that such diverse statements could emanate from the same organization within such a short period of time. This organization, after opposing collective bargaining in a university setting for so many years, now endorses the principles involved and is actively seeking to become the agent of academic staffs.

A new phenomenon is just becoming evident in which the AAUP has opened its membership to the support staff of universities, a phenomenon that may well spread across this continent. If the extreme financial pressures that now exist are continued for a few more years, the academic staffs at Canadian universities may also turn to a collective bargaining process. It is not that academic staffs are greedy people, but they may feel that there is no alternative. The right of people to band together, to protect their economic welfare, is a right that was given long ago. Whether they choose to exercise such a right or not is a choice that must be left to the group

involved. If the financial difficulties facing universities do not soon disappear, it may well be that collective bargaining will be the only alternative left to academic staffs to protect their economic welfare.

What of the students? Where do they now stand? During the period of student unrest a small group had the obvious goal of destroying the universities and razing the present institutions to the ground. Their view was that universities were so bad that any institution which arose from the ashes would be better than the one that was destroyed. Their major weapon was the extreme rhetoric of the time. What that generation could not accomplish with their mouths, the present generation is accomplishing with their feet. Thousands of young people are marching away from institutions of higher learning and are saying loud and clear that they do not want the education which is offered.

Many institutions are being driven to the brink of financial collapse, particularly those whose needs are measured by formula financing, a procedure that was extremely successful during the periods of rising enrollments and has become equally devastating in times of static or dropping enrollments. By now it is probably easy to conclude that my opinion of the state of the union is one of complete disarray.

Society is pursuing one set of objectives with respect to education, members of the academic staff have a different set of objectives; and the objectives of young people differ considerably from the objectives of the other two groups. Each group wants to influence the decision-making process and each is becoming an adversary of the other two. If this situation continues, a form of university government will evolve that will accommodate an adversary system. This is what happened in the labor movement, in which organizations and procedures were created to accommodate and regulate the recognized adversary positions of labor and management. It might also happen in the field of post-secondary education. Although this may be for the good or become necessary, I

personally shall regret it. Under an adversary system the constituent groups will become distinct. Policy will be set by society through its government and administrators will be hired to administrate, professors will be hired to teach and do research, and students will attend to learn. The autonomous institution will slowly submerge into the larger university system and the present concept of shared authority will disappear.

The present disarray in the state of the union makes post-secondary education a fruitful field for the reformer and antagonist. The literature has become saturated with analyses of the woes and weaknesses of post-secondary education, and a multiplicity of solutions are being offered. The year 1972 will be known as the year of the report. The Lamontagne and Wright and Peitchinis reports are now a matter of public record, and educationists in Alberta are now waiting with baited breath for the imminent release of the Worth Report.

Each of the published reports begins with the fundamental assumption that there is something dreadfully wrong with the delivery of education and/or research to the nation, and then proceeds to provide the solution for rectification. Unfortunately, the solutions being suggested are all quite different, and each solution points the future of education in quite different directions.

Speaking for myself, I'm unwilling to support any of these proposed solutions until more evidence is provided to show that we in education should say *mea culpa* and the authors really have proven their case for radical changes in post-secondary education. In my opinion, it is a waste of time, effort, and money to attempt to place the praise or blame for our development of the present educational systems. Whether they are good or bad is not the major issue and in fact should not be an issue at all. Our system of education must change for no other reason than the future demands that this system be different.

The era of industrial revolution is just about over and the end of unlimited exponential economic growth is just over the horizon. Society must be prepared to envisage a static economic model, and the implications from such a model are quite different from the implications of the ever-growing model which so many of us believe will go on forever. In that society which will surely come, our present process of education is not appropriate, and it will have to change because there will be no alternative.

Educational systems have nominally been appropriate for the times, and the fact that they evolve as the years go by is not evidence that the educational institutions of the past were ill-conceived, backward, or subject to any of the many criticisms voiced today. It is now necessary to go back to fundamental principles and there must evolve a common understanding among society, the governments that speak for that society, and the institutions that are to be entrusted with responsibility for the delivery of the education of the nation, concerning the objectives to be achieved and the process by which these objectives are to be attained. Until that takes place, the state of the union between society and its educational institutions will remain as it is today, a relation between adversaries, a state that will be detrimental to all concerned if it persists too far into the future.

Early in my talk I said it was of paramount importance that an answer be given to the question, "To whom does a university belong?" I would like to close by giving an answer that is a paraphrase of an answer Rousseau gave long ago to the question, "To whom should the world belong?" In the proprietary sense, a university must belong to the society which is supporting it; however, society should only exercise its right of ownership to determine the financial support it is willing to assign to its educational institutions. The right to declare war is a right a society must always reserve for itself. However, once a decision to wage war has been made, I am

old-fashioned enough to believe that the conduct of the war should be left to the generals.

In a similar way, I believe that the development of science should be left to the scientist, and the development of education should be left to the educationalists. Only they have the expert knowledge to make the wise decisions that will make the development a success. Once the proper proprietary decisions have been exercised by society, there are still many groups who must act in a united way for the development of education. For the detailed development of a university, a university should not belong to the society who supports it, it should not belong to the staff who work at it, and should not belong to the students who attend it. It should belong to no one.

It is only by recognition of this fundamental concept that we can hope to preserve the autonomy of universities, an autonomy that is vitally necessary if universities are to act as leaders and critics of the society that supports them. I plead for this because the only alternative is rigid state control and the result will be as it is in Red China today—each graduate will be a robot who will say, "I shall be whatever the state wants me to be."

Symposium

Chairman: GORDON CAMPBELL, University of Lethbridge
LORN DICK, Medicine Hat Community College
LEON McCARRY, Associate Commission for
Higher Education, Utah
JOHN P. SCHAEFER, University of Arizona
MRS. JESSE SNOW, University of Lethbridge

MRS. SNOW:

It is certainly true, as Dr. Wyman has pointed out, that the student lobby is much more active than ever before. In Canada the lobby has been quiet but very effective. The new Minister of Advanced Education has probably seen more university students already than any of his predecessors. We feel the minister, and his cabinet peers, appreciate hearing from us because we present a perspective different from the faculty or administration.

When it comes to participation in university governance, students take an active interest in issues that pertain directly to them. Many council and committee meetings are pre-occupied with mundane issues; yet when issues involving students or of immediate concern to them arise, students attend meetings and articulate their views.

DR. SCHAEFER:

From what I have heard at this conference, I would say that there is greater student representation and participation in Alberta, and probably in Canada, than in my state of Arizona or generally in the United States. However, an amendment to the Higher Education Act in the United States will make mandatory student representation on governing boards in the United States. Many colleges and universities even now provide for students to have a voice in committees and faculty senates. I think universities are better off for it.

DR. MCCARRY:

The State Board of Higher Education governs nine institutions in Utah and, in its hearings about the state, has had strong representation from students seeking membership on the State Board as well as on institutional boards. I feel that students can make their greatest impact at the departmental level where curricular changes are instituted.

MR. DICK:

The conflict between faculty and administration at a community college in this province led students to request a provincial government inquiry. This inquiry was granted and students took the opportunity to play a strong role in the investigation. They exercised their role in a parliamentary and peaceful manner as contrasted with the destructive procedures taken by students at Sir George Williams University.

MRS. SNOW:

It is important for the different elements of the university—the administration, the faculty, and the students—to have formal channels of communication wherein they can exchange and express their views.

DR. CAMPBELL:

Shakespeare has observed that the spirit of the chase far exceeds the pleasure of realization. I wonder if students, having gained a voice and power will become indifferent to it with the result that in a few years hence we will have constitutional provision for student representation but an indifferent student body.

MR. DICK:

We have experienced some difficulty at our college in finding students to sit on even the important committees.

FINANCING HIGHER EDUCATION IN CANADA

HON. PAT MAHONEY, P.C., M.P.
Minister of State (Finance)

NOTE: Mr. Mahoney provided copies of his extensive address for the members of the audience at the time of presentation. They are not being reproduced here but copies may be obtained on request from the Secretary of the Conference.

HIGHER EDUCATION: A NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

G. NEIL PERRY

*Assistant Deputy Minister (Program Development)
Department of Manpower and Immigration, Ottawa*

AS A RESULT of some rather bad planning on my part, a substantial portion of this paper had to be composed while I was sitting in London's Heathrow Airport a few days ago. In addition to the normal confusion and hubbub, the air was full of rumours that terrorists intended to repeat one of their surprise attacks. Writing away in what seemed an obscure corner, I had the impression that the security personnel were keeping me under constant surveillance; within ten minutes, about five strangers asked me for the correct time. Now how many times a day do people stop and ask you for the correct hour? Once? Hardly ever twice. Five times? Well, as we bilingual Canadians would say, "C'est impossible!"

As it turned out, Scotland Yard didn't want me. The trouble was that my obscure little corner was right beside the watch department of the duty-free counter.

The London newspapers that weekend were commenting about other crises. First, the results of an official longitudinal survey which had just appeared seemed to indicate that the British educational system still faced a few unresolved problems. Youngsters coming from a working class background were shown to be at a considerable disadvantage as compared with middle-class children. "The chances of an unskilled manual worker's child being a poor reader at seven years old are six times greater than those of a professional worker's child."¹ However, *as far as reading was concerned*, this study by the National Children's Bureau in the United Kingdom showed that nobody could beat the Scots. Allowing

for social class and family-size differences, Scottish seven-year-olds are on average about 11 months ahead of everybody else in reading in Great Britain.

Then there were the headlines related to the pollution crisis. The United Nation's Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment was just about to open and the London papers were greatly impressed with the working document that had been prepared for the delegates. Barbara Ward, a well-known British economist, had teamed up with an American biologist, René Dubos, to produce a book which, evidently, had succeeded in presenting—to everyone's surprise—a balanced, readable view of the world's pollution crisis.²

At the same time, another book broke into the news, entitled the *Doomsday Syndrome*. The author, John Maddox, editor of a journal called *Nature*, argued that the pollution issue was greatly exaggerated. His message seemed to be: Don't worry about these alarmist reports—technology and the market economy will look after everything.³

What struck me as interesting about these various British press observations was the attention being given to *the*

¹ The London Sunday Times Magazine of June 4, 1972, reported on page 25: "The 17,000 babies born in the week March 3-9, 1958, were studied in a National Birthday Trust survey to improve maternity services. Six years later the National Children's Bureau managed to mount a study on the home background, health, and physical and mental development of the children at seven. Nearly 92 per cent of the families were traced and agreed to take part. Cash permitting, the surveys will take place every four years, giving invaluable help to future policy-making in health, education and welfare. The story so far is told in *From Birth to Seven*, published tomorrow by Longman at £2 paperback and £10 hardback (with tables and questionnaires). Dr. Ronald Davie, deputy director of the National Children's Bureau, and co-author of the book with Professor Neville Butler and Harvey Goldstein, tells us some of the findings when the children were seven years old."

² Barbara Ward and René Dubos, *Only One Earth: The Care and Maintenance of a Small Planet*. (London: Penguin, 1972).

³ John Maddox, *The Doomsday Syndrome*. (London: Macmillan, 1972).

view that time was running out on man; that problems of poverty, pollution, overcrowding of our cities, all had to be confronted if our form of society were to survive. So if the physical surroundings of the airport were not entirely propitious, at least the theme, "Survival and Challenge," was very much in evidence.

The Employment Paradox

Higher education faces many dilemmas today. The one I have chosen to discuss is *the employment paradox*. How is it that all through the 1960's we were building a system of higher education to produce graduates, many of whom would, *seemingly*, not be wanted in the decade of the 1970's? I say *seemingly*, because whatever else may come through in this discussion, it would certainly not be my aim to suggest that a democratic state could, somehow, ever manage to have too many well-informed citizens.

Posed in this provocative form, whether or not it satisfies the formal notion of a paradox, this is a very loaded question. The loading, however, is not at the front end. It is almost true to say that more universities, colleges, and institutes of technology were created in the decade of the 1960's than in all of the previous years of the Canadian confederation. At a time when there was a widespread belief that Canada lacked an adequate supply of educated and skilled manpower, governments everywhere were sympathetic to the needs of the post-secondary sector.

The governments were assisted in this belief by the economic arguments that often were advanced during the 1960's. Various economic studies had shown that education's contribution to economic growth had been impressive. And it is not much of an exaggeration to say that "higher education" was sold on the basis of its high net economic and social benefits. There were, of course, other influences at work. The postwar baby boom began to move up from the elementary and secondary school levels, and, concurrently, the participa-

tion rate—that is, the proportion of the 18-to-24-year-old population seeking a college education—also rose markedly. By the middle of the decade, even the federal government had become heavily involved in aiding the provinces to meet the operational costs of what was obviously becoming a very large and costly higher education system. I think we can accept the proposition that during the 1960's in Canada, we did build a major addition to our system of higher education.

It is the latter part of my paradox that carries the barb. . . . “to produce graduates, many of whom would, seemingly, not be wanted in the decade of the 1970's.” There was a time not so long ago when it would have been stoutly argued that this was not a paradox at all; that the development of a modern system of higher education for the pursuit of knowledge was a legitimate social goal in its own right—wholly unrelated to sputniks or any of the other pressing short-term reasons which so often stimulated action during the sixties. Some of my dearest faculty friends still hold the fundamental view that the pursuit of knowledge is a self-contained objective, and that other so-called purposes only obscure the clarity of that essential goal.

From time to time, however, there have been academics who were prepared to concede that higher education might have important side effects in the form of social consequences; that is not quite the same thing as saying that the universities ought to have employment objectives in mind for their graduates. It seems to me that one could put Kenneth Galbraith of Harvard in this group. In 1958, in his well-known *Affluent Society*, Galbraith took the position that education provided the *only* escape route through which individuals could hope to find an occupation which would yield status and rewarding work. Those who escaped from a lifetime of less satisfying toil by this route became members of what he chose to call the “New Class,” and for Galbraith the expansion of this class should be a major goal of society. Put another way, investment in education, assessed qualitatively

as well as quantitatively, becomes very close to being the basic index of social progress—other things being equal, the more education then, the better.⁴

There were some voices, such as Dr. Howard McCluskey, Professor of Adult Education at the University of Michigan, who questioned the wisdom of creating a new society based on education—mainly because there were a great many persons who would find themselves excluded. In 1966 McCluskey was quoted as having warned “that education is creating a new class structure ‘that threatens to topple democracy’.”⁵

More recently, and for somewhat different reasons, the case for unlimited education has been put forward by the Club of Rome. I am referring, particularly, here to the book, *The Limits to Growth*, by Professor Meadows and others at M.I.T.⁶ Sometimes describing itself as an “invisible college,” the Club of Rome, as you may know, is an informal group of internationally prominent industrialists, scientists, educators, and others who have recently banded together to emphasize, through the use of a global mathematical model, the punishing consequences of pushing unlimited growth in population, in agricultural production, in using up exhaustible resources, in industrial production, and, of course, in pollution. Although hardly in the tradition of Malthus, with the help of a simulation model they also foresee outer limits to growth and they argue for the adoption of international, better house-keeping practices in this decade. Believing that this could produce a state of global equilibrium, instead of the plight that may conceivably overtake mankind in the next century, they envisage the sort of stationary state of population and capital growth that would not necessarily curtail all activities

⁴ J. K. Galbraith, *The Affluent Society*. (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1958).

⁵ Victoria Daily Times, September 19, 1966.

⁶ Donella H. Meadows et al., *The Limits to Growth*, (Boston: M.I.T., 1971).

of mankind, only certain production acts; indeed, they foresee universal and unlimited education, leisure for creativity and inventiveness, as well as freedom from hunger and poverty. (p. 180)

In their own words, to quote from *The Limits to Growth*: "Any human activity that does not require a large flow of irreplaceable resources or produce severe environmental degradation *might continue to grow indefinitely*. In particular, those pursuits that many people would list as the most desirable and satisfying activities of man—education, art, music—basic scientific research," and so on, "could flourish." (p. 175)

Hence, in the face of Galbraith, the Club of Rome, and numerous faculty friends, I am not disposed to argue that the case for unlimited education lacks supporters: it clearly has them. Yet, as other speakers have pointed out, higher education has its critics too, and currently it would be difficult to find unqualified support for the unlimited concept at the federal level.

If I were forced to generalize, it seems that in federal circles, the role of the universities as major producers and disseminators of knowledge still ranks high and no one has seriously put forward the idea that there can be a saturation point of knowledge. On the other hand, there may be an emerging tendency in the government to evaluate more critically the social benefits that flow from new knowledge.

Recently a Senate committee was somewhat critical of the way basic research had been supported, particularly in the physical sciences, while the application of this research in Canadian industry was relatively neglected. Then the cresting of the wave caused by the postwar baby boom has suggested to some that the need for physical plant capacity in the universities has already passed. And the rising costs of higher education, of course, have also drawn comment.

From time to time the ideas of Milton Friedman are brought forward, in which the students would be made the

focal point for further financing; institutional financing, such as we now have, would gradually disappear under this approach. The idea here is that if students could be adequately financed, they would shop around and, through a sort of competitive market relationship between the universities, obtain the best value for their money. I should not like to leave the impression that this argument has yet gained the upper hand even among government economists, but you certainly do hear the proposal discussed.

In educational matters, of course, the viewpoint of the provincial governments always carries a heavy weight and, insofar as the provincial budget allocation process swings away from higher education towards other government services, there is bound to be pressure on the federal government to revise its posture towards higher education. In Canada, we shall cross another important reference point in the spring of 1974 when the present fiscal agreement of 1967 expires. But rather than speculate about the future of federal-provincial arrangements beyond 1974, I should like to return to my main theme and take up the question: Is there an imbalance?

Is There an Imbalance?

Shortly before Christmas last year there was an OECD conference in Venice to consider the present utilization of highly qualified manpower in the member states. You will recall that OECD stands for the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, and both Canada and the United States (as well as two other non-European countries, Australia and Japan) are members of the OECD. With the possible exception of West Germany, there was a consensus at the December conference that some sort of imbalance, or mismatch, was now emerging in many countries between the demand for and the supply of highly qualified personnel.

A few months earlier, the report of another OECD Committee of Experts had appeared. Commonly known as the Brooks Report, after its chairman, Dean Harvey Brooks of

Harvard, that report warned about the dangers of an over-supply of highly qualified manpower, suggesting that it was becoming increasingly necessary to try to regulate the flow of scientists and engineers and, particularly, research workers.⁷

There had been rumblings of this sort before, of course. In 1968 Philip Coombs argued in his book, *The World Educational Crisis*, that there was a crisis emerging in education's ability to match performance with expectations. First, because of a worldwide disparity between the hopes of individuals and needs of society on the one hand, and, on the other, the capabilities of the educational system. Second, because of an even greater disparity between the developing countries, with their inadequate resources, and that of the developed countries which are preoccupied with their own internal needs.⁸

Coming back to the two OECD statements, what seems to be implied is:

1. That the number of students entering higher education during the past ten years has been mainly in response to social pressures, that is to say, to the demand for higher levels of educational attainment as a means of social betterment and of general ability to cope with life in modern society;

2. That the demand for higher education has been governed largely by the aspirations of the students themselves, and of their families, and has depended more on national traditions than on employment prospects or on conscious analysis of the future needs of society;

3. That the output of the higher education system has already overtaken, or may shortly overtake, the real demand for people with professional and technical qualifications, in spite of the fact that this demand has been temporarily amplified by the need for additional teachers in the expanding education system itself, both to staff new universities and colleges and to enlarge the capacities of existing ones.

⁷ Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, *Science, Growth and Society*, (The Brooks Report) (Paris: OECD, 1971).

⁸ Philip Coombs, *The World Educational Crisis*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1958).

Taking it for granted that the aspirations of students and of their families are not likely to change, the Brooks Committee came to the conclusion that if these larger numbers were to be handled with greater economic efficiency, the aspirations and expectations of students would have to be matched more realistically to the career possibilities actually open to them in the future.

In a somewhat similar vein of thought, the *Manpower Report of the President*, submitted to the Congress a few weeks ago in March, has suggested that during the decade of the seventies possibly one-third of all the students earning degrees and then seeking a place in the world of work will have to enter occupations which have previously been performed by workers with less education.⁹

Putting that in numerical form, just about fourteen million students are expected to earn degrees in the United States during the decade, and around four million of these may remain in university studies. So it is estimated that about ten million will enter the labour force; of this 10 million, roughly one-third will fill the places of those retiring. Another third will be absorbed through expansions in the traditional professional and other fields. The final third (or more exactly, 2.6 million) will have to find their way into occupations which today do not require a college degree as a qualification for entry.

Putting it another way, this is a situation where supply is expected to create its own demand. If I may quote from the President's *Manpower Report* (pp. 114-115):

Educational planning by both institutions and individuals needs to take this prospect into account. It should place greater emphasis on preparation for occupations in which a college education is not customary as yet but would contribute to needed upgrading of the quality of service provided. For example, a college education would help greatly to prepare police officers for the wide range of responsibilities involved in effective police performance. The same is true of a variety of other

⁹ 1972 *Manpower Report of the President*. (Washington, D.C.: Superintendent of Documents, 1972).

public service occupations. The prospective increases in the numbers of college students offer an opportunity which should be seized upon by many public agencies.

The availability of more college-trained workers will have an adverse effect on many less-educated persons. It is likely to mean that, in the future, workers without college degrees will have less chance than they did in the past of advancing to professional positions in fields such as engineering and accounting and less opportunity for promotion to higher level positions in sales, managerial, and even some clerical and service occupations.

There is much else in the President's Report that could be described as somewhat disquieting for post-graduate degrees. Just how far this Manpower Report will be accepted as a definitive statement of the outlook for degree recipients in the United States during the seventies is not clear to me. Obviously many events could intervene to change the picture presented here.

Leaving that issue (the validity of the outlook) dangling, I should like to turn to Canadian data. In the decade of the seventies, the Economic Council of Canada has estimated that just under one million students (926,460) will earn degrees. If we assume that approximately 15 percent (138,340) will remain in post-graduate programs, we could have around 800,000 degree students entering the labour force over the ten-year period. If we jump to the crunch question and estimate that, as in the American example, one-third of these degree students might have to look for work in fields which have traditionally not required a degree as a qualifying condition, then we could be talking about nearly 250 000 students.

This surely has to be considered a very crude "guesstimate." First, because the use of the American ratio is, to say the least, arbitrary; lacking a reliable Canadian statistic, I have used the American ratio only to establish a kind of comparable benchmark. Secondly, estimates of this kind sometimes seem to set in motion forces (career decisions) that have a way of altering the basic data; so I cannot say too strongly that this "guesstimate" has no predictive attributes.

Even for discussion purposes, I find it difficult to translate rough estimates of this kind into measurable degrees of gravity. *Spread out over ten years*, 250,000 graduates might represent a pool of highly qualified manpower which could readily be absorbed in occupations that have previously not required such qualifications. But I also have the gnawing feeling that there could be something here which ought to concern us.

There are some signs that the Canadian experience in the future may not be vastly different from that of the United States. For instance, those of you who are familiar with the Professional Institute of Chartered Accountants will know that professional group has now decided to require a bachelor's degree as a prior condition of entry into their profession. And in the province of Ontario, the recent Wright Commission on Post-Secondary Education has reported other instances of upgrading qualifications.¹⁰

Of course, it is one thing to talk about requiring a bachelor's degree as a qualification for entry into accountancy and something else again to say, as a New York paper did recently, that a man received his Ph.D. from N.Y.U. one week and was cleaning subway clocks the next (*New York Daily News*, June 16, 1971, page 14c). Obviously, the notion of upgrading has some limitations.

The frustration, insofar as the students are concerned, is no respecter of the level of degree earned. The state of joblessness is obviously just as disappointing for the young would-be teacher who has just acquired a B.Ed. degree as it is for the doctoral candidate who has learned there are no immediate prospects in sight for an academic post.

Some of the preliminary results of studies now going on in Ottawa seem to suggest that, for the next few years, only one out of every four Ph.D. candidates will have a reasonable

¹⁰ Commission on Post-Secondary Education in Ontario (The Wright Commission). (Toronto: Ontario Government Bookstore, 1972).

chance of finding a job *inside the university environment*. Perhaps as many as 70 percent of them will have to seek jobs with industry or with government. Naturally, the circumstances vary with the discipline; some are affected more than others.

The strange thing about these forecasts is that they may be right in some sort of global sense, but quite wrong in the particulars. For example, I have a letter from the President of the University of Prince Edward Island which tells me they had a terrible time finding a postdoctoral fellow in chemistry, although this is one of the fields in which a surplus of Ph.D.'s was said to exist. The Maritimes may not have quite the pulling power of Ontario or the West Coast, of course, so the phenomenon of surpluses and deficits existing side by side could well represent the truth.

One could form an entirely overdrawn picture of pessimism by short-run statistics of this sort, and my purpose is not really to add to the natural anxiety that every student begins to feel when career questions are at stake.

On balance, though, there is enough evidence in our two countries to justify the finding that there is an imbalance or mismatch between the demand for and the supply of highly qualified personnel. And the natural question is: What should be done about it?

Considering the recovery movement that is now steadily gathering strength in both Canada and the United States, and given some continued willingness on the part of governments to provide any intermediate emergency measures, I think that the longer-run employment prospects for most of our university and college graduates will improve as the decade moves on, even though some might have to enter occupations that have traditionally demanded less academic qualifications.

But, in the meantime, the somewhat darker employment outlook could have a dampening influence on university enrollment. This is extremely difficult to quantify, partly

because so many crosscurrents are present—the strong trend towards the two-year community colleges is just an example. In this respect the situation certainly seems to have changed from the 1960's. As you will remember, during those years many universities were seeking to hold their enrollments down to a level they could reasonably absorb. And the attention of the counsellors was mainly focused on helping the students who were fortunate enough to be admitted to select programs of study in which their probabilities of academic success were greatest. In this counselling process, the question of ultimate career choice of the student was often not germane to the student's academic program. Individual faculty members, of course, have long played an important role in helping students to sharpen up their employment objectives. But I think it would be fair to say that career counselling, as distinguished from the academic or program counselling, has not usually been regarded as a university-oriented task.

When I was Dean of the Faculty of Commerce and Business Administration at the University of British Columbia, we produced a little booklet showing the photographs and fields of study of every graduating bachelor of commerce. At the time, this practice seemed to have helped slightly in the job-placement exercise. But in that faculty, as is the case of other professional schools, there was always a fairly close relationship between the world of work and the faculty. That Town and Gown relationship is not quite so easy to arrange in other disciplines.

Even though career counselling has not been regarded as a primary obligation of the universities, professional career counselling has, of course, gone on in other places—usually at the secondary school level.

One of the major difficulties every career counsellor confronts is that he is expected to be able to evaluate successfully two quite different phenomena. First, he has to be able to assess the potentialities and career interests of the client,

and with the aid of various aptitude tests this often can be done up to a point. But then the counsellor is also expected to be able to offer some judgments about the employment prospects in each of the client's possible fields. Here he is confronted with an almost impossible task.

During this last winter, my own department has been looking into the difficulties our departmental counsellors face when they try to resolve their horrendous employment-forecasting task, and we have concluded that the average counsellor deserves more assistance than he has been receiving. This certainly has been the feeling of the professional counsellors for a number of years.

In particular, we have spent the winter trying to develop the methodology for a *Computer Assisted Career Counselling System*. Very briefly, the aim of this pilot project is to forecast demand and supply situations in each of the principal occupations, looking ahead perhaps as far as five years in time. If our research project is ultimately successful, we would hope to be able to put a new and valuable tool at the disposal of professional counsellors. This would enable the counsellor and the student to sit down together for a serious discussion on career choice, knowing that the best available information was at their fingertips for a student graduating at any date in the next four or five years. Naturally, the choice of career would have to be made by the student; and insofar as he reached a career decision, that piece of information itself would become a part of the huge data bank that would be required to sustain such a complex computer system. We are hoping to test our research project inside the department under real-life conditions during this coming winter, and, if it is successful, undoubtedly its use will be greatly expanded.

Even with the world's finest counselling system, one could still continue to have shortages or surpluses in particular occupations. In Canada, there are certain skilled occupations which, in spite of handsome financial rewards, often fail

to attract enough candidates; and, conversely, there are other fields that, traditionally, for status or other reasons, have often attracted too many. Nonetheless, an effective career counselling system could improve the student's chances for a rewarding career.

Lacking a major improvement on the counselling side, we seem destined to repeat many of the errors of the past. The human cost of these errors is often not detected, and to some extent may, indeed, have been unduly neglected because of a general preoccupation with economic growth considerations. Increasingly it is being perceived that although the needs of the economy may be for more engineers, the student trying to decide between engineering and, say, physics is now more inclined to take into account the basic elements which promote *his own conception of well-being*.

But there are students who, having pursued a course of studies for its own ends, are finding the adjustment to the world of work an excruciating experience. A case of this kind crossed my desk recently, and I thought the details might be of some interest here.

Client C

Male, 23 years of age, married, wife not working, one child.

Educational background: B.A. from a western university, history major, graduated in 1970.

Employment history: Canadian Pacific while a student and on a casual basis after graduating up until the end of summer 1971. He was employed in a clerical capacity.

This client arrived at a certain eastern Canada Manpower Centre after having tried on his own to find employment with the Public Service Commission. He had been unable to find employment in B.C. and decided to trek across the prairies to Ottawa in search of a job. Not realizing that the PSC could not hire him on a few days' notice, he had spent all of his resources. An Unemployment Insurance Commission cheque had not been forthcoming because he had changed provinces.

Thus, client C arrived to register for employment under the most adverse circumstances. He and his family had not been able to buy food and were thus literally starving. Welfare promised relief within a

week. The problems of a graduate student with a history major are mainly in the area of the type of employment he could expect. This young man had no idea of what he wanted other than the knowledge that he needed something fast and would be willing to do anything. Because this client was unable to identify any related employment experience, his application with the PSC on a competition seeking PMs (program administrators) was not considered and he was advised accordingly.

In view of the urgency of this case it was decided that this client had to be cared for at all costs. His immediate need for food was provided for by a local church. He was referred to a local paper company as a yard labourer with the following advice:

1. Do not give your educational background.
2. Do not complete the IQ test that the company administers to all candidates, i.e., do not answer all of the questions.
3. Do get some old clothes.
4. Don't appear too bright.

His file was coded in the Administrative Assistant's category and kept on the computer printout. He was successful in his bid for the job as a yard labourer, and this would at least temporarily supply him with funds while he could wait for possible openings within the PSC. A subsequent follow-up proved that this client was able to stay on and he eventually moved into the Ottawa CMC jurisdiction, where his file was sent.

Although we have only part of the academic record before us, this case illustrates rather pathetically the travail that some students currently face in their initial search for employment. Whether his experience could have been tempered by career counselling may be questionable but, obviously, his various decisions (whatever we may think about his judgment) were taken on the basis of rather inadequate information. Perhaps a better understanding of his own position might have been gained through counselling.

It is fairly obvious that *the students themselves come to a judgment about the career prospects* currently identified with each faculty. Whether or not improved counselling were available, the mere existence of an alleged *surplus condition*

is sufficient to set in motion a sort of reversal action. Many students then turn their thinking towards those disciplines where career prospects appear to be the brightest. Frankly one cannot adopt too hard and fast guideposts on this point; except in certain very specialized fields, the relationship between the academic program followed in the university and a student's subsequent experience in the world of work is not yet well understood.

There is a marked degree of substitutability between degree requirements in the world of work. For example, unless there has been a recent change, the Institute of Chartered Accountants' new requirement that their candidate possess a bachelor's degree did not specify the subject field: any bachelor's degree would do. And the B.Ed. degree has come to possess a marketability characteristic that spreads well outside the field of education. And one can think of the hundreds of law graduates who are now successful businessmen or administrators.

In short, one ought to advance rather modest claims about the improvements that might be expected from more sophisticated career counselling. In economic terms, perhaps all that can be argued is that an effective career counselling system should help most students to determine an optimal choice.

Of course, from the standpoint of a national perspective, the nation has to be concerned with the effective use of all of its human resources, not just the highly qualified personnel. And this brings me to my concluding observation.

Role of an Employment Intermediary

In spite of what appear to be changing attitudes towards work and industrial achievements, we can assume that Canada will need—in its selfish interest—to stay fairly close to the pace-setting nations in technology and research. This means a national posture sympathetic to upgrading, retraining, and to higher education, because the Canadian labour force

would be expected to remain abreast of developments. In short, modernization of the labour force has to be a continuing item in any agenda dealing with the state of the national economy.

It is also a fair assumption that the general public will continue to favour policies that involve putting people to work rather than sustaining large numbers of unemployed employables on a welfare status. This seems to suggest the need for the development of some ingenious combination of jobs or training assurance for the unemployed employables, and a guaranteed income or support for those judged to be non-employables.

Putting this in more technical terms, the problem might be stated this way. The economy is production-oriented. Whenever the number of new jobs being generated lags behind the growth in the labour force, or whenever the volume of production is curtailed, or production processes changed, the level of employment is likely to be reduced or made discontinuous. The brunt of this discontinuity is shifted to the job-holders (or newcomers) *who, unlike their jobs, do not disappear* but must now seek other employment or suffer loss of income. Unemployment insurance and other forms of assistance are available to help offset the drop in earnings, but they do not change the state of unemployment.

There are some economists who think that governments ought to concentrate on speeding up the adjustment process by putting job-seekers instantly in touch with vacancies and so on. During good times with high-level employment, this solution might be enough. But, apart from the mechanical and human difficulties involved, in times such as these there simply would not have been enough vacancies to absorb the bulk of the jobless. (There are always some vacancies, unfortunately, that persist even in the best of times.) What seems to be needed, then, is a method of making the adjustment fall still more heavily on the economy's broad shoulders and rather less on the individual.

In order to accomplish this feat, however, we are going to need a new kind of instrument. In my own mind, it should be a sort of quasi-autonomous public corporation, financed by and responsible to government, but not a government department staffed by public officials. If we could create such employment corporations and authorize them to hire young people just entering the labour force, on say a five-year contract basis—time enough to give them a combination of training and on-the-job experience, we could provide that intermediate step which today is lacking for so many. After some experience with a modest pilot project of this sort, it might be found practicable to extend the plan to a wider range of job-seekers. But this would be a good place to begin the test. It would be a digression to set before you all the working details of such a plan, and I admit it has a number of practical difficulties. But I wanted to make a passing reference to the idea because of its potential importance and particularly because, together with better counselling, it might greatly improve the prospects for the 1970's.

Conclusions

I have deliberately stayed away from most of the favourite controversies in Canadian intergovernmental relations; there has not been a word said about constitutional questions, nor very much said about the always important subject of finance. Important though these matters are from a national perspective, they somehow miss the essential points in higher education. I have also left out of my discussion many of the trends that will undoubtedly affect the size of the university and college populations during the 1970's.

With the gradually spreading adoption of educational leave, presumably the universities and colleges will begin to experience an even larger return movement—both of graduates and of mature students—than has developed thus far. Innovations such as the British Open University, and the American *newspaper experiment* that the University of Cali-

ifornia at San Diego has recently announced, may catch the popular fancy. To accommodate the intellectual and technological needs of this adult movement could pose many adjustment problems for the established faculties. All this should imply, however, that the best faculty members will—as always—be in great demand.

Summary

If I might summarize the main points of my presentation very briefly, they are:

1. During the 1960's there was a massive build-up in the Canadian higher education system;

2. The public demand for post-secondary services reflected student aspirations;

3. Throughout the sixties governments in Canada were concerned about potential shortages in the highly qualified manpower sector and generously supported the expansion movement;

4. The economic outlook darkened just as the initial waves of the postwar baby boom began to emerge from the universities in search of employment;

5. At the start of the 1970's, it looked as if we had built a system of higher education to produce graduates that we did not really want;

6. Some of the *surplus* characteristics that bother us so much now could well prove to be more short-lived than we have expected;

7. Events are pressuring us to find better ways of career counselling, and we shall probably have a much more effective system in general use by the middle of the decade;

8. Undoubtedly, there could be consequences for certain faculty enrollments as a result of the unsatisfactory employment outlook. Whether these *surplus* conditions will have seriously disruptive consequences is difficult to assess; it might be particularly hard, in the short run, on some of the younger faculties attempting to offer graduate degrees;

9. From a national perspective, as a result of the 1960's, we appear to have a Canadian system of higher education that now must be even more effectively used. This may not be quite a question of survival, but it certainly promises to be a challenge.

PACIFIC NORTHWEST CONFERENCE ON HIGHER EDUCATION

The Thirty-Fourth Annual Conference

Theme: Survival and Challenge

June 14-17, 1972

Host institution: University of Lethbridge

William E. Beckel, *president*

Local Planning Committee: Gordon Campbell, Eugene Falkenberg,
Russell J. Leskiw, F. Q. Quo, Keith Robin, and Jessie Snow.

Conference Steering Committee 1971-72:

Russell J. Leskiw, University of Lethbridge, *Chairman*

Delmer M. Goode, Oregon State University, *Secretary-Treasurer*

Paul Blowers, Fr. Steilacoom Community College

Byron F. Doenges, Willamette University

E. Milton Grassell, College of Great Falls

Donald F. Kline, Idaho Higher Education

Tom Kruse, Pacific Lutheran University

J. Frank Ligon, Oregon State University

Francis Rummel, University of Montana

Edward J. Shoben, Evergreen State College

Organization

The Pacific Northwest Conference on Higher Education is composed of participating colleges and universities in Alaska, Alberta, British Columbia, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, and Washington. It encourages attendance and participation by faculty, students, administrators and board members of all Pacific Northwest institutions and by any other lay persons concerned with the problems of higher education.

Purpose

The purpose of PNWCHE is to sponsor an annual, voluntary gathering of persons who—apart from their administrative or subject

matter specialties—are interested in the health, welfare, and advancement of higher education in the Pacific Northwest. Each annual meeting focuses attention on a theme of current and common concern. The Conference invites outstanding educational authorities from Canada and the United States to discuss problems related to the central theme. It provides a forum through which participants express opinions and exchange ideas. Though publication of the annual proceedings and other available media, the Conference seeks to circulate as widely as possible the ideas generated at the annual meeting.

Support

The host institution and other institutions aid with provision of leaders. Each institution provides for the attendance of its delegates and pays an annual fee of \$10, \$25, or \$50 proportioned according to its student enrollments. Presidents and libraries of supporting institutions receive the Proceedings free. Proceedings, both current and back issues, may be obtained from Oregon State University Press, Corvallis, Oregon 97331.

Procedure

The Conference conducts plenary sessions that deal with the central theme as a whole. It organizes working discussion groups to deal with the different phases of the broad theme. It seeks to enable participants to carry back to their campuses the most helpful and stimulating ideas that arise out of the work of the sessions. It may formulate statements that express the consensus reached by the sessions or by majority or minority groups.

Steering Committee

A Steering Committee plans the meetings and conducts the activities of the Conference between meetings. It includes nine representatives of participating institutions and the secretary-treasurer and editor. The member from the institution that will be host to the next meeting is chairman. Elections to the Steering Committee are held at the business session of the annual meeting. Steering Committee members and officers hold office until their successors are elected and installed. Vacancies that occur between meetings of the Conference may be filled by the Steering Committee.

BUSINESS SESSION

Chairman Russell Leskiw called the Conference meeting to order at 10:40 a.m. at the University of Lethbridge. He called on Mr. Goode to give his report as Secretary-Treasurer and Editor. The financial report was as follows:

Balance on hand July 23, 1971	\$ 884.59
Receipts:	
Fees (17 @ \$10, 14 @ \$25, 12 @ \$50)	1,120.00
TOTAL	2,004.59

Expenditures:

Speaker expense, Salem meeting (43.20 135.81, 10.50, 140.70, 54.30)	384.51	
Steering Committee travel (50.00, 50.00, 50.00, 45.22, 40.22)	235.44	
Tape for Salem meeting	11.67	
Mimeographing and printing (2.43, 2.57, 10.01)	15.01	
Deficit lodging & meals, Salem meeting (partial)	200.00	846.63
On hand June 14, 1972		1,157.96
TOTAL		\$2,004.59

Mr. Goode further reported that the minutes of the July 23, 1971, Conference business meeting had been mailed to the Presidents of all participating institutions and all delegates to the Willamette University meeting, had been reviewed and approved by the Steering Committee of the Conference at its meeting in Spokane October 18, 1971. He said that his function as Editor involved oversight of the interests of the Conference in respect to published Proceedings. The Chairman of the Steering Committee, however, is Proceedings Editor for the meeting held on his campus. Proceedings, under an arrangement entered into in 1965, are published by the Oregon State University Press. Mr. Goode presented the list of participating institutions for 1971-72 as follows:

Alaska

University of Alaska
University of Alaska—Palmer

Idaho

Boise State College
College of Idaho
College of Southern Idaho
Idaho State University
Lewis-Clark State College
North Idaho College
Northwest Nazarene College
University of Idaho

Montana

Carroll College
College of Great Falls
Dawson College
Eastern Montana College
Montana College of Mineral
 Science and Technology
Northern Montana College
Rocky Mountain College
Western Montana College

Nevada

University of Nevada

Oregon

Chemeketa Community College
Clackamas Community College
Concordia College
Eastern Oregon College
George Fox College
Judson Baptist College
Lewis and Clark College
Linn-Benton Community College
Mount Angel Seminary
Multnomah School of Bible
Museum Art School
Northwest Christian College
Oregon College of Education

Oregon State University
Oregon Technical Institute
Pacific University
Reed College
University of Oregon
University of Oregon Dental
 School
University of Portland
Warner Pacific College
Western Conservative Baptist
 Seminary

Utah

Brigham Young University
College of Eastern Utah
Dixie College
University of Utah
Utah Technical College
Weber State College
Westminster College

Washington

Bellevue Community College
Big Bend Community College
Central Washington State
 College
Centralia College
Clark College
Everett Community College
Fort Steilacoom Community
 College
Fort Wright College
Gonzaga University
Grays Harbor College
Northwest College
Olympia Vocational-Technical
 Institute
St. Martin's College
St. Thomas Seminary
Seattle Pacific College
University of Washington
Washington State University
Wenatchee Valley College
Western Washington State
 College
Whitman College

Canada

Canadian Union College
 Grande Prairie Regional College
 Lethbridge Community College
 Medicine Hat College
 Mount Royal College
 Olds Agricultural and
 Vocational College
 Red Deer College

University of Alberta
 University of Lethbridge
 Vermilion Agricultural and
 Vocational College
 Douglas College
 Notre Dame University of Nelson
 University of British Columbia
 University of Victoria

It was *moved* (Hunting) that the report of the Secretary-Treasurer and Editor be accepted. The motion was seconded, put to voice vote, and was declared *carried*.

J. Kenneth Munford, Director of the Oregon State University Press, was called on for a report which was as follows:

Since July 1, 1971, the Oregon State University Press has taken the following actions on behalf of the Conference:

1. Published the Proceedings of the 1971 Conference meeting as edited by Byron Doenges under the title ACCOUNTABILITY (1,400 copies printed and bound).

2. Distributed copies of ACCOUNTABILITY to: Registrants of the Salem meeting, Libraries of participating institutions, Presidents of participating institutions, book reviewers and various periodicals.

3. Filled standing orders for ACCOUNTABILITY and other Proceedings in stock.

4. Accepted and filled orders for ACCOUNTABILITY and other Proceedings in stock.

5. Collected from sales a total of \$1,598.30, which in accordance with the agreement between the Conference and the Press has been divided equally between the two agencies, \$799.15 having been credited to the Conference account to be deducted from cost of printing proceedings.

6. Displayed Proceedings at the Conference meeting at Willamette University July 21-23, 1971 and entered copies in various exhibits at educational meetings across the country.

7. Prepared a display for the 1972 meeting at the University of Lethbridge.

Dr. Munford's report on behalf of the Oregon State University Press was accepted without formal action.

The report of the Committee on Nominations (Francis Rummell, Chairman, Keith Robin, Leonard Hunting) was presented as follows:

For terms expiring 1975: Lorn Dick (Medicine Hat Community College), Larry Gilbert (Idaho State University), Robin Smith (University of British Columbia)

For Terms expiring 1973: Nels Hanson (Centralia Community College), Leon McCarry (Associate Commissioner, Utah State Higher Education System)

Alternates: Christian Mondar (Mt. Angel College), David Thomas (University of British Columbia), Father Anthony Via (Gonzaga University)

Steering Committee members whose terms continue were as follows:
Terms expiring 1974: Russell Leskiw (University of Lethbridge), Frank Ligon (Oregon State University), Edward J. Shoben (Evergreen College). Term expiring 1973: Francis Rummell (University of Montana)

Nominated as Secretary-Treasurer and Editor (one year term): Delmer Goode.

The Chairman called for additional nominations from the floor. None were offered and nominations were declared closed. It was *moved* (Rummell) that the proposed nominees for the steering Committee be elected. The motion was seconded, put to voice vote, and was declared *carried* and the nominees elected.

The Chairman said that several invitations for the next meeting of the Conference had been received and reviewed by the Steering Committee. He said the Steering Committee recommended acceptance of the invitation of Evergreen College. It was *moved* (Ligon) that Evergreen College be designated as the host institution for the 1972-73 Conference meeting. The motion was seconded, put to voice vote, and was declared *carried*.

The meeting was adjourned at 11:06 o'clock.

Delmer Goode
Secretary

CONFERENCE REGISTRANTS

- Frank Abbott, Executive Director, Commission on Higher Education,
Denver, Colorado
- R. N. Anderson, Faculty of Education, University of Lethbridge
- H. Axford, Faculty of Arts and Science, University of Lethbridge
- George Batterson, University of Oregon Dental School, Portland
- C. Beaty, Faculty of Arts and Science, University of Lethbridge
- Vice President and Mrs. Gerald Bogen, University of Oregon
- Stephen Bray, University of Idaho
- Bruce Bray, Department of Music, University of Idaho
- William Brooks, Alberta Teachers' Association, Raymond, Alberta
- Dr. Butterfield, Faculty of Arts and Science, University of Lethbridge
- Gordon Campbell, Faculty of Education, University of Lethbridge
- Leon McCarry, Associate Commissioner for Higher Education, Salt
Lake City, Utah
- E. J. Chambers, Faculty of Business Administration, University of
Alberta
- J. Crowley, President, Northern Montana College
- E. B. Cunningham, Lethbridge Community College
- Mr. and Mrs. E. Davidson, Coaldale, Alberta
- Dr. Daykin, Faculty of Arts and Science, University of Lethbridge
- Lorn Dick, Medicine Hat Community College
- V. Dravland, Faculty of Education, University of Lethbridge
- E. E. Falkenberg, Faculty of Education, University of Lethbridge
- Larry Gilbert, Idaho State University
- Delmer M. Goode, Oregon State University
- Stanley A. Grout, Dean of Education, Western Montana College
- J. Guay, Faculty of Education, University of Lethbridge
- Nels W. Hanson, President, Centralia College
- Harold L. Hodgkinson, Center for Research and Development in
Higher Education, Berkeley, California
- N. D. Holmes, University of Lethbridge
- Donna Horbay, Edmonton, Alberta
- Professor Hoyer, Faculty of Arts and Science, University of Lethbridge
- Leonard Hunting, Mt. Angel College
- Marino Kristjanson, Alberta Universities Commission, Edmonton
- Richard Landini, Academic Vice President, University of Montana
- Dr. Larson, Lethbridge School District #51

- J. Frank Ligon, Oregon State University
 Leroy Little Bear, University of Lethbridge
 A. Lowen, Faculty of Education, University of Lethbridge
 Mrs. M. McGregor, Faculty of Education, University of Lethbridge
 J. Kenneth Munford, Oregon State University
 Ray Needham, Linn-Benton Community College, Albany, Oregon
 Don Orr, Olds College, Olds, Alberta
 Robert Peck, Oregon Educational Coordination Council, Salem
 John Percevault, Faculty of Education, University of Lethbridge
 Neil Perry, Department of Manpower, Ottawa
 L. Prindle, Lethbridge Community College
 Keith Robin, Director of Continuing Education, Lethbridge Community College
 Francis Rummel, University of Montana
 Lloyd Seath, Vermilion College, Vermilion, Alberta
 Ms. J. Schneider, Lethbridge Community College
 John Schaefer, President, University of Arizona, Tucson
 Donald Sheehan, Whitman College
 M. T. Sillito, Alberta Teachers' Association, Edmonton
 F. Simon, University of Calgary
 H. Skolrood, Faculty of Education, University of Lethbridge
 James Small, Department of Educational Administration, University of Alberta
 Ms. Jessie Snow, Students' Society, University of Lethbridge
 Timothy Stanaway, Dean of Students, College of Great Falls
 Randy Thiessen, St. Joseph's College, University of Alberta
 William Thompson, University of Lethbridge
 C. Thomson, Faculty of Education, University of Lethbridge
 J. Thorlacius, Faculty of Education, University of Lethbridge
 Hal Weber, Faculty of Arts and Science, University of Lethbridge

PREVIOUS CONFERENCES AND PROCEEDINGS

Founded by Dean Edwin B. Stevens (1873-1968) of the University of Washington, the Pacific Northwest Conference on Higher Education held annual meetings 1935-1942 (two in 1937) at the University of Washington. Themes of these conferences included *The Junior College, Implications of Democracy, Personnel Work, General Education* and *Higher Education Looks at the Future*. In the war years 1943-45 no conferences were held. Since that time the location and theme of the annual conferences have been as follows:

- 1946 Oregon State College. *The Student as a Factor in His Education.*
- 1947 University of Washington. *Guidance and Personnel Work in Higher Education.*
- 1948 University of British Columbia. *Admissions, Curriculum, and Personnel Services.*
- 1949 Spokane, Washington. Merger with the Northwest Conference on the Arts and Sciences; joint meeting with the Department of Higher Education of the National Education Association.
- 1950 Reed College. *Higher Education in a National Emergency.*
- 1951 No conference.
- 1952 Whitman College. *Higher Education and the Advancement of Freedom.*
- 1953 University of Oregon. *Higher Education for an Expanding Population.*
- 1954 University of Idaho. *Man's Right to Knowledge and the Free Use Thereof.*
- 1955 University of Washington. *Quality and Quantity in Higher Education.*
- 1956 University of Utah. *Higher Education and the Mature Conscience.*
- 1957 College of Puget Sound. *Reclaiming Wastelands in Higher Education.*
- 1958 State College of Washington. *Human Values in a Technological Age.*
- 1959 Southern Oregon College. *Superior Students.*
- 1960 Central Washington College. *Improving Teaching in Colleges and Universities.*
- 1961 University of Washington. *Higher Education Re-Examined.*
- 1962 University of Nevada. *Higher Education, Its Autonomy and Support.*

- 1963 Portland State College. *The American College and the Making of an Educated Man.*
- 1964 Western Washington State College. *New Knowledge: Its Impact on Higher Education.*
- 1965 University of Oregon. *Higher Education for All?*
- 1966 University of Idaho. *Responsibilities of Colleges and Universities.*
- 1967 Lewis and Clark College. *Toward the 21st Century in Higher Education.*
- 1968 University of Utah. *Profess or Perish.*
- 1969 Oregon State University. *Confrontations.*
- 1970 College of Great Falls. *Refocus.*
- 1971 Willamette University. *Accountability.*
- 1972 University of Lethbridge. *Survival and Challenge.*
- 1973 Evergreen State College. *Diversity.*

Proceedings of the Conferences beginning in 1950 (except for 1962) have been published. Back issues still in print (1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970) may be obtained from Oregon State University Press, P.O. Box 689, Corvallis, Oregon 97330. @ \$3 a copy.

Out-of-print back issues (1950-1965) may be obtained in microfilm or microfilm printout from University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48103.